l:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

TABLE 7: CROP YIELDS ON BALI, 1933

Crop	Yield (in Imperial cwt)
Husked rice	
from wet fields	3,907,264
from dry fields	227,806
Maize	1,159,981
Tubers	2,039,901

241
312
[433]

that concept, *subak*. Another edict, dating from 896, mentions, alongside of other *undagis*, or craftsmen, the *undagi pĕngarung*.[15] *Pĕngarung* comes from an Old Balinese root *arung*, which in Modern Balinese has become *aung*, whence are derived *aungan* (tunnel for irrigation water)[16] and *ngaung* (to make an *aungan*). Hence *undagi pĕngarung* means 'tunnel-builder'. If there were already tunnel-builders in 896 it may be assumed that wet-rice farming on Bali is significantly older than that. The modern phase of wet-rice farming is considered in this volume in a study by Grader of the irrigation associations in Jĕmbrana.[17]

5

The Balinese Desa

The people who carry on agriculture live in village communities called *desas*, and the *desa* is the chief social unit on Bali. In central Bali one can see *desa* after *desa* lying in a grove amidst its shelving *sawahs:* a cluster of compounds surrounded by clay walls and planted with clumps of bamboo and with banana, coconut, and other useful trees.

361

From the inscriptions it is known with certainty of various *desas* that they were already in existence a good nine or ten hundred years ago. For the ordinary Balinese the *desa* must in earlier times have figured as the focal point of the universe, considering the frequent recurrence of the name 'navel temple' for one of the three village sanctuaries. (In Balinese as in other Indonesian languages 'navel' has the connotation of 'centre'.)

The *desa* is often defined as a community of worship. An important part of its function does, indeed, lie in the religious

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1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

621 field. That function might be defined briefly as the task of
794 maintaining the cosmic balance in the territory of the *desa*, and thus of assuring the well-being of the *desa* inhabitants, by worshipping the divine powers and exorcizing the demonic ones. Each *desa* does this, with ceremonies performed in or nearby its temples. In the *desa* there are differences between inhabitants as regards their functions and their right-of-say, but every group is expected to cooperate in performing the community task by helping to maintain and restore the village temples and to provide offerings and whatever else may be needed for the temple festivals and the ceremonies of purification and exorcism.

It would be one-sided to view the *desa* community exclusively as a community of worship, for it also fulfils a task in the social field. But it is difficult to make a distinction between its social and its religious task, as becomes clear whenever members of a village community go over to another religion. In keeping with the design of this volume, attention will be given particularly to the religious aspects of *desa* life.

6

The Land of the Many Temples

361 In tourist folders Bali is often advertised as the 'land of the
346 thousand temples'. That such a folder is in error happens quite frequently, but that it errs by understating is a rare exception. Nonetheless that is here the case.

In the earthquake of 1917, 2,431 Balinese temples were destroyed. The stricken area, which was not one of the most densely populated parts of Bali, covered about a ninth of the total surface of the island. This would lead one to set the number of temples on the whole island at more than twenty thousand.[18] A recent figure from the Bureau of Religious Affairs on Bali gave the total number of large and important temples as 4,661.[19]

121 No student of Bali can afford not to familiarize himself with
346 the extensive temple system and the religion that manifests itself in it. One of the purposes of this volume is to provide materials

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

177 565 (*a*) The Hindu-Balinese and Javanese-Balinese rulers sometimes attempted to attach early indigenous classes and crafts to their courts. To maintain themselves there members of such groups then attempted to defend their early indigenous rights and positions in the way customary in the Hindu and Hindu-Javanese courtly sphere on Bali. This was for example the case with the blacksmiths, about which Goris writes below.[48]

177 621 (*b*) Alongside the *desa*, membership of which is restricted to the descendants of its founders, older villages also have the *banjar*,[49] which organization includes all the married male residents of the village. The *banjar* is charged with all kinds of secular activities, in contrast to the *desa*, which has rather more a religious task. Moreover the *banjar* can be classified as belonging to the *kĕlod* sphere and the *desa* to the *kaja* sphere – with all the connotations attached to that antithesis.[50] The *banjar* occupies itself with the purification of the *desa* territory, especially in the magical sense, and with the care of the dead, either by means of burial or of cremation. In traditional villages the *banjar* is subordinate to the *desa*.

In the apanages of central Bali, where the *desa* came under the influence of the royal administration, the relationship gradually shifted. The authorities took to demanding contributions from the villages for their expensive cremation celebrations. It was only natural to do that *via* the *banjar* organization. The *banjar*, which had traditionally had a secular task, also formed the point of contact in the village sphere for all sorts of administrative measures of the ruler. The representatives of the royal administration began to take over control of it. And when cremation became the custom in the village sphere as well, the *banjar* was the most logical institution to organize within the *desa* the mutual assistance needed for the purpose. Hence the *banjar* grew in importance and finally outstripped the *desa*.

We see, then, the early indigenous *banjar* obtaining a Hindu task, as far as cremation is concerned, and a shift in the village organization as a result of contact with the royal sphere.

177 764 (*c*) The cremation of the dead is still considered as one of the typically Hindu phenomena on Bali. Within the whole of Bali-

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OF7 Balinese OF7

The Religious Character of the Village Community

Various writers on Bali have stressed the pronounced religious character of the Balinese *desa*, the village community. That the village forms a closed, self-contained unit – a republic, as Korn has appropriately called it – may be assumed to be generally known.

Any number of statements by authorities on Bali such as Liefrinck, Korn, and the like might be quoted in this connection. Lekkerkerker, for example, speaks of:

> ... the unbroken force of the deeply religious, strongly Hindu-influenced personal and social concepts of the Balinese, which dominate life, permeate and consolidate society, and determine the rites and ceremonies of the individual, the family, the irrigation association, the village, and the country ...[1]

Van Eerde, similarly, writes:

> The [Balinese] society, resting on the firm foundations of its fixed village units, its precisely delimited irrigation complexes, and its well-defined religious associations, remains vigorous in comparison to what is frequently to be encountered elsewhere in Indonesia in this respect, primarily owing to the cooperation of its members.[2]

And Korn states:

> What can be the force urging the Balinese people into staunchly united groups that come together at fixed times of the year for consultation in a way that seems alien to the rest of Indonesia, and playing such an important part in the public and domestic life of these islanders? That force is the service of the gods, who constantly demand the attention and devotion of the people ...[3]

Such quotations, each of them the résumé of years of study, might easily be multiplied. With them in mind, I should like to attempt to trace this religious character in its various forms of

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

kĕmimitan), the clan temples (*pura dadia*), and so forth. This cursory survey may be enough to indicate that the village sanctuaries to be discussed below form only one part of the tremendous total of Bali's temples.

The village temples are an element indispensable to the village community. Their maintenance, and the festivals held in them, constitute the object of the village's first and foremost task. This temple service derives from two series of concepts, two basic ideas. The first is that the ground belongs to the gods, and the second that the living population of the *desa* desires to maintain contact with its deceased ancestors.

The former of these basic ideas, that the land belongs to the gods, may be illustrated by quotations from authorities on the subject. Liefrinck cites a passage from a *desa* document regarding the members of the *desa* association – "its members ... have charge over a certain territory, which, however, belongs to the gods" – and goes on to say:

> It is, then, a prime duty of the people of the *desa* to care for these gods, to pay them due homage, and to present them with offerings. Hence temples must be founded and maintained for them, since if that is not done they will take awful revenge.[4]

Elsewhere Liefrinck writes:

> In order to obtain an understanding of the prime rights exercised on the land, we must attempt to visualize for a moment the conception which the Balinese has of the original condition of the land. The whole country then lies in a formless state: the mountains are covered with forest to their very peaks, between them the mountain lakes in their solemn silence; the rivers flow through the valleys, following their course to the sea undisturbed, now slowly, now at a tremendous speed; the hill country and plains they stream through have never been touched by human hands. A few human beings may roam here and there, but they live like animals in the forest, and like animals feed on what the forest has to offer, no more inclined than animals to call anything their property. The whole country seems uninhabited. But it is only seeming, for the gods hover above the land and above the water.
>
> Every mountain is inhabited by a deity, every lake has its goddess, there is not a spot of ground that escapes their influence. They are invisible, but omnipotent. It can hardly be expected that, when people

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

who have such a conception of matters are asked the question "Whom does the land belong to?" the honest answer can be anything but: "The land, with everything that grows on it, the water that flows through it, the air that envelops it, the rock it holds in its womb, belongs without exception or limitation to the invisible gods and spirits who inhabit it."

This conception glimmers through in every conversation about land rights one has with Balinese who are in the position to state their opinion open-mindedly, and is completely natural for persons at their stage of evolution ... If any confirmation of the assertion that this is really their opinion is needed, it might be found in certain village writings, for example the *awig-awig* of Kubutambahan, which explicitly state that in certain cases grounds which someone is farming can be taken away from him if he does not meet his obligations, "since they are the property of the deity".

... Also completely in keeping with this notion of the overriding rights of the deity is the fact that land is never farmed before permission has been requested from the local deity and that as soon as cultivation has begun nothing is considered more essential than to erect an altar to the deity as an expression of gratitude. A part of the crops harvested from the lands should be presented to the deity as an offering, and whenever wood and other materials for the repair of temples or altars are needed they are taken where they are best to be found, regardless of whatever rights persons may exercise on the lands where they occur ...

All in all, the above removes every doubt that, in the view of the Balinese, the land is owned by the gods who inhabit the country.[3]

Korn, likewise, says:

The religious character of the Balinese village community determines its whole field of activity: from that character it derives its competence to claim not only the spare time of its members but also the labour of their wives and children for the sake of a great number of solemnities and events. On the basis of that religious character it interferes with family and property affairs, and its hand of punishment is applied almost exclusively as a result of religious considerations.

What determines this religious character? The notion that it is the task either of a representative of one family, usually a *pasèk* [see below], of the representatives of certain families, or of all the members of the community united in a *desa* association to see that a certain area remains pure. The very territory of the *desa*, indicated by such terms as *padesan*, *pèrbumian*, *wèwèngkon desa*, *bumi*, *gumi palasan*, *payar*, *kuhum*, is itself an object of veneration...

The village territory, we have seen, needs to be kept pure. The consequence of this principle is an immense series of commandments and pro-

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

hibitions regarding what must be done and not done within that territory. The regulations are different for each *desa*. There is a general prohibition against allowing lepers within the village territory except at certain impure places. Another general regulation is that the parents of undesired twins or of triplets must be banished to the graveyard for six weeks. This *manak salah*[8] and *manak juru* should then be followed by a purification ceremony. On the other hand there are highly divergent prohibitions regarding the pursuit of crafts considered to make the village territory impure, such as pottery making (which in Jasri, in Karangasĕm, may only be done on the beach and by the Pati River), blueing, making rice wine, and so forth. Then there is the prohibition of certain animals: in Jasri no goats may be bred. There are a large number of villages where opium may not be smoked; the *desa* of Pasĕdahan obtained permission from the rulers of Karangasĕm to move the opium agents to the south edge of the village on condition that if they sold opium in the village the drug would be confiscated and they would be punished by having to clean out the village ponds. Corpses must be buried or cremated within a specified time, and in certain villages those kept in the house must be taken outside the village during *desa* festivals. Carcasses of animals may not be left lying, but must be buried in a specified way. In most regions of southern Bali it is also prohibited for a peasant and his family to live for any length of time on the *sawahs*, since that would lead to the impurity of the *sawah* land. The village of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan goes furthest in this matter of prohibitions and commandments.[9] There men may only tap palm wine, and women may only make *gĕringsing* fabrics, both of which are necessary in connection with the offerings. For the rest the people must devote themselves to the service of the gods.

That service of the gods constitutes the further task of the village. The long list of anniversary offerings – *usaba, ochi, yosan, wali, puja charu* – differs for practically every village in the *Bali-aga* territory, just as there are differing *desa* gods. In the apanage territory, on the other hand, the festive calendar is uniform.[8] That the requisites for these festivals are always available is the result of the notion that everything produced by the *desa* territory in the form of crops and livestock belongs to the gods ... Of these religious ceremonies, special attention may be asked for Nyĕpi,[9] the 'restriction' of the village (or in the apanage territory, of the whole area), since each year at that time the boundaries are reaffirmed by stretching lines or erecting gates over the roads at the points were they cross the village boundaries.[10]

Alongside the veneration of the gods as the overlords of the land there is also the second basic notion of maintaining contact with

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

769 775 the deceased ancestors of the *desa* inhabitants. This contact is sought not only privately, in the household temples and the family temples, but also in a village context.

Before considering such contact further, however, we must point out a very important distinction which the Balinese make between two clearly separate groups of ancestors. The first of these groups consists of the dead who are not yet completely purified. This group is in turn subdivided in *pirata*,[11] those not yet cremated, and *pitara*,[12] those already cremated. The former are still completely impure, and are given victuals (*punjung*) at the graveyard; the latter have been purified, but are still considered as distinct, individual souls. They are venerated in the dwelling, with offerings on or above the bed, not in the household temple.

The second group consists of the completely purified ancestors who are considered as divine, and are called *dewa*, *dewata*, *batara*, or *sang hyang*[13] – the deified ones, the sacred ones.

No contact is sought with the *pirata*, the dead who have not yet been cremated. On the contrary they are dangerous, and belong to the nether world, falling in the same category as night, black, water, sundown, and new moon (*tilĕm*).[14] Offerings must, however, be made for the redemption of their souls, and this is done at the graveyard (*setra* or *sĕma*),[15] for example in Buleleng, or in the temple of the dead (*pura dalĕm*), for example in Bangli.

The completely purified dead enjoy divine veneration and are essentially equal to the gods in status and nature. They are also transcendental, in the sense that they are no longer considered as separate individuals (like the *pitara*) but as 'the progenitor', the soul of each ancestor being merged and coalesced with that of his forefathers as soon as he is no longer remembered as an individual. These are the forefathers and *desa* founders with whom the Balinese seek contact and whose blessing they need.

621 769 778 When a group of Balinese establish a new *desa* they require three special sites: a place to worship the lord of the ground and the deified village founders; a place to bury their dead, with chapels for the *pitara*, the dead just purified, in the vicinity; and a place for village meetings.

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

As a matter of course they will seek a place 'higher than the village', in Balinese thus *kaja*,[16] to worship the lord of the ground. This place of veneration is the *pura puseh*[17] or temple of origin, and there, besides the lord of the ground, the villagers will later also worship the deified forefather or clan and village founder, and seek contact with that force. For the graveyard and the *pura dalem* accompanying it (also in its more rudimentary forms) they will seek a place 'lower than the village' (*kelod*).

For their village meetings they choose a spot in the centre of the settlement, for example at a crossroads or the place where the market is held (the two will often coincide). It is quite plausible that in very early times the young men's houses, the accomodations for strangers (that is to say, guests of the village), and perhaps the pavilion for the cockfights were located there. Also the initiation of young people to the status of full members of the *desa* may have taken place there in very early days. (Whether there were originally various initiations, for example first a puberty rite, then later the initiation as *desa* member coinciding with the young man's marriage, need not be considered here.) This centre of the village, with its multiple functions in *desa* life, developed into a temple, the *pura bale agung*, the temple of the large (meeting) hall. It is this temple that Korn describes as "the sacral men's house".[18]

These three temples should be present in every village, and the more traditional villages have all three. But there are remarkable local deviations. In the first place the *pura puseh* may be represented anew in a part of the *pura bale agung*. This representation can be of various kinds. Sometimes there is a separate *pura puseh*, and moreover a chapel for the god of the *puseh* in the *pura bale agung*. At other times there is no separate *pura puseh*, but a place is reserved for it on or next to the grounds of the *pura bale agung*. In this latter case there is always a clear boundary separating the two, whether it is a stone wall, a wall of bamboo, a simple elevation of the ground, or a hedge. The *pura dalem*, too, can be represented in various ways. It is often to be found in front of the main entry to the *pura bale agung*, reduced to a single pavilion or

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

184 621 *bale*. Since the *pura bale agung* is *kaja*-oriented, the *bale* representing the *pura dalĕm* consequently lies *kĕlod*.

778 346 In some of the old mountain villages the system is condensed even further, with the benches inside and/or outside the gate of the *bale agung* serving as places of worship for the lord of the dead. In making offerings to this god one turns *kĕlod*, that is to say one sits facing the gate, thus with one's back to the gods of the *pura bale agung* itself. The direction in which the offerings are made – *kaja* for the upper-worldly gods in the *pura bale agung* and the *pura puseh*, and *kĕlod* for the nether-worldly forces of the *pura dalĕm* – is in keeping with the nature of the offerings. The sacrificial animals, too, are very clearly distinguished in *kaja* (upper-worldly) and *kĕlod* (nether-worldly) offerings.

695 Sometimes a *titi gonggang* is to be found either in front of the *pura bale agung* or near the graveyard. The *titi gonggang* consists of a bamboo or a plank over a pit, and signifies the border between life and death. In various cases this 'hell bridge' or 'soul bridge' is used in trials by ordeal: if the person accused of a crime can walk across it without faltering or falling he is declared innocent. The bridge is mentioned in various eschatological texts, and is almost certainly a synthesis of early indigenous and Hinduized thought. Compare, for example, the reference in the *upanisads* to the bridge of the soul, the path of which is as sharp as the razor's edge.

778 621 346 Inside various old-style *puras bale agung*, then, one finds a *pura dalĕm* abridged into two *bales* at the entry, or in other cases in front of the *pura bale agung* a condensed *pura dalĕm* with or without a *titi gonggang*. Another *bale* having to do with nether-worldly forces, but one which has not yet been satisfactorily explained, is the *bale pĕgat*, an open pavilion split into two halves. Now the *bales agung* are themselves sometimes split, occasionally even twice, but I am here concerned with the *bale pĕgat* as it is to be found in several traditionalistic mountain villages, and also in the three chief temples of the Bĕsakih complex. In each of the central temples of Bĕsakih – Pĕnataran Agung (for the whole of Bali), Dangin Krĕtĕg (for Karangasĕm), and Batu Madĕg (for Bangli)[19] – there is

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

a *bale pĕgat* just inside the main entry, through which all processions with the images of the gods have to pass.

After this survey of the nature and the purposes of the three chief village temples something may be said of the way in which they are built. The oldest type of *pura dalĕm* was without doubt a collection of 'spirit houses' or chapels for persons who had just died. Such small temples are still to be found in the mountain regions around Lake Batur, and are reminiscent of the spirit houses of the 'Buddhists' on Lombok. The *puras pusĕh*, too, must originally have contained only very simple chapels. In these temples there are often large venerated stones (*paicha* or *taulan*) evocative of the places in eastern Lombok where stones and fountains are revered by the *waktu tĕlu*, a Moslem group which performs the prescribed prayers three times a day instead of the usual five. The *pura bale agung*, on the other hand, in the nature of things always needed an extensive site with one or two large assembly halls (*bales agung*) for the village meetings, plus a number of other structures.

These two very simple temples (the *pura dalĕm* and *pura pusĕh*) and the *pura bale agung*, much larger in size but equally simple in design, underwent significant architectural changes in the course of the centuries, however. The changes came as a result of Hinduism, and only gradually filtered down from the royal courts to the people as a whole.

Alongside of his household chapel or *chapelle ardente*, his *pura pĕmĕrajan*, the ruler originally had two temples, a *pura pĕnataran* as a state temple and a *prasada* or *chandi*[30] as a dwelling place for his deceased and deified ancestors. Neither of the two was completely private in character. In the *pura pĕnataran* the living unity of the realm was commemorated, celebrated, maintained, and confirmed by religious means; in the *prasada* or *chandi* contact was sought with the deified ancestors. In nature, then, the *pura pĕnataran* was a large temple containing a great many structures: altars, chapels, offering pavilions, meeting halls, music pavilions, offering kitchens, supply halls (rice sheds and the like), guest houses, and so forth. The *prasada* was essentially one large central

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

stone structure, sometimes with a few smaller ones grouped around it. Stone was used for the whole design of both temples: there were altars and buildings entirely of stone or on stone bases, there was a stone outer wall, and in many cases there were also stone walls dividing the various temple grounds. All the stone surfaces were ornamented, and not only were there gold, silver, wood, and stone images in the chapels, but also the walls and stairs were adorned with stone statues. The woodwork, too – the pillars, the rear side of the *bales* (the so-called *parba*),[21] and the roofs, – was highly ornamented.

Following the example of these royal and state temples, the village temples were gradually also Hinduized architecturally, with the village *pura bale agung* following the state *pura pĕnataran* and the village *pura dalĕm* following the *prasada*. However, while the ruler, the living representative of the unity of the realm, had two temples, the village, as we have seen, had three. In the villages, then, there was a different system of thought, but one which eventually adjusted itself to the bipartite system of the Hindu rulers. The royal *pura pĕnataran* served both for the veneration of the lord of the ground and for religious meetings of state, and thus contained within itself the character of both the *pura puseh* and the *pura bale agung* on the village level, while the *prasada* or *chandi* was the place of contact with the deified ancestors of the ruler, and so had a function similar to that of the village *pura puseh*. The function of the village *pura dalĕm*, as a place of homage to the ancestors who had not yet been deified, the *pitara*, was not necessary on the royal level, since the ruler's ancestors were always cremated and their ashes placed in a *chandi*. The process of purifying their souls was not allowed to be delayed; a whole series of ceremonies, culminating in the placing of the ashes of a deceased ruler in the *chandi*, had to be begun immediately after death.

This was the dictate of the Hindu-Balinese ideal. In practice, however – particularly once the rulers in the first place no longer had the power or the means to build large *prasadas* and in the second place began to feel and think more in Balinese terms as a result of constant intermarriage with Balinese and an absence of

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

Nonetheless it seems logical to assume a pre-Hindu cultural influence. Once we come to know more of this hypothetical pre-Hindu cultural element, many other Balinese cultural phenomena such as the *lamak* (the plaited offering carpet), the *barong*, the *naga* (a creature to be distinguished from an ordinary serpent, and perhaps a dragon),[23] the winged lion, and so forth may become clear to us.

After these notes on the nature and purpose of the three important village temples and their architectural design, two other village sanctuaries may be mentioned. These are the *pura sĕgara* and the *pura bukit*. The *pura sĕgara*, or sea temple, though falling in the category of the village temples, is of course primarily to be found in *desas* located close to the seashore, while the *pura bukit*, or hilltop temple, is naturally more common in the mountain areas.

Let us now turn to the second series of symptoms indicating the religious character of the village community: the workings of the village administration.

2

The Village Administration

For an understanding of the structure and function of the village administration it is necessary to turn first of all to the mountain areas, where the pre-Hindu situation has been preserved to a large extent. A survey of conditions there[23] can be of help in understanding the newer type of villages found elsewhere, and can demonstrate that both in Karangasĕm and in Buleleng there are transitional forms towards the *desa* of the Hindu-Javanese type.

The village administration of yore was made up of a number of pairs of officials each consisting of one right member and one left member. This same division into two halves or phratries also obtained for the core villagers who did not hold office.

The lists of officials in certain mountain villages follow. In Songan there are two *kĕbayans*, two *baus*, one *pĕnyarikan*, two *singgukans*, and seven pairs of *saihs nĕmbĕlas*.[24] In the Gianyar mountain vil-

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

178 to disappear, until there are *desas* with one *klihan* and one *pĕnyarik-*
624 *an*, or finally with a *klihan* who is at the same time *pĕnyarikan*. In all this development a force can be detected towards substitution of a monolithic system of village authority for the old bipartite *desa* administration and replacement of the old indigenous set-up by Hindu forms of royal power and religious penetration (in temple administration).

624 This evolution is to be seen in every field. Though in earlier times the *kĕbayans* were the chief officiants in the temples, eventually they had to give way to the *pĕmangkus*, with the villages where *kĕbayans* and *pĕmangkus* are both represented in the village administration forming an intermediate stage. Whereas in earlier times the supreme authority in the village also was in the hands of the *kĕbayans*, in northern Bali (and very frequently in older villages in Karangasĕm) they were replaced by the *pasĕk*,[40] a sole hered-
[622] itary village head (as opposed to the pair of *kĕbayans*, who had attained their position owing to seniority). An even newer type is the *bĕndesa*, first under the *pasĕk*, then on an equal footing, and finally superior to him. But this village head in turn has had to give way to the most recent functionary, the *klihan*.

175 This evolution can perhaps best be summarized as follows.
[615] Originally the *desa* was divided into two phratries, with one set
624 of functionaries for each phratry and with the highest social authority in the village coinciding completely with the highest priestly function. Then came a tendency towards monism, imported by Hinduism, and as a result a concentration of the village administration in the hands of a single person, as was desired by the Hindu ruler, and in the religious sphere a division of functions between this single secular village authority and the religious officiants in the temples (no longer village authorities).

621 Though even now a large number of villages of the traditional type which have been able to maintain themselves despite every pressure testify to the older Balinese situation, the vast majority of the Balinese *desas* demonstrate that on the village level, as elsewhere, the system of thought is no longer essentially indigenous Austronesian in character, but Hindu-Balinese.

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OF7 Balinese OF7

Though the *pasĕk* is also to be found in other regions, for example in Karangasĕm, the frequency of his occurrence as village head in Buleleng *desas* can be taken as proof that they are new villages founded by southern Balinese. Partly because of the hereditary nature of the function, the *pasĕk* as unitary village head points towards a village founder still remembered and recognized as a forefather of the present *pasĕk*. This colonization from southern Bali probably also explains why there are so few *puras pusĕh* in Buleleng, for a *pura pusĕh* points ideally towards a deified ancestor and village founder who has long since been forgotten as a human being.

The *desa* of Galungan presents a remarkable case: the administration consists of an hereditary *pasĕk* and a *kĕbayan* chosen according to seniority. The *pasĕk* is here the chief priest in the four village temples (including a *pura pusĕh*), and there are no *pĕmangkus*. This, then, is again a mixed type. Some villages in Karangasĕm, too, have a *pasĕk* beside a *kĕbayan* or a *bĕndesa*. In such cases the *pasĕk* is in charge of the *pura pusĕh*. Hence these villages are an intermediate link between the older, *pasĕk*-less villages with a *pura pusĕh* and the newer *pasĕk* villages without such a temple.

There is, then, a clear evolution from communal to individual authority in the village administration, just as there is in land rights. For closer acquaintance with the religious character of the village administration, not only Korn's monograph on the village of Tĕnganan is most readable, but also what he has to say regarding the villages of Timbrah, Sĕlat, and Siděmĕn in Karangasĕm and what Liefrinck writes about such villages as Kubutambahan,[41] Bulian,[42] Dĕpaa,[43] Bila,[44] Mĕnyali,[45] and Sidatapa.[46]

These comments on the evolution of the village administration may be followed by a few notes on village meĕtings. As the mountain villages around Lake Batur demonstrate, the earlier pattern was that people met in the *pura bale agung* at full moon and in the *pura dalĕm* at new moon.[47] Often – and this, too, is the older situation – only the core villagers gather in the *pura bale agung*, while for the meetings in the *pura dalĕm* either all the inhabitants or only the non-core villagers assemble.

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621 Of the eighty villages in Buleleng on which Liefrinck provides
184 information in his excellent *desa* monographs,[48] thirteen are of this type. Eight other villages meet only at full moon in the *pura bale agung*, while four villages manifest deviations: Tamblang holds a meeting in the *pura dalĕm* at new moon followed by a meeting in the *pura bale agung* the next day, the first of the month; Sidatapa and Chĕmpaga meet only on the seventh day of the waxing moon in the *pura bale agung;* and Lĕmukih, strangely enough, meets at new moon in the *pura bale agung*.

575 The newer types of *desas*, under Hindu-Javanese influence, meet
621 once every thirty-five days according to the Javanese-Balinese or *uku* calendar, preferably on Anggara Kasih (Tuesday-Klion), but occasionally on Wednesday-Umanis, sometimes in both temples and sometimes only in the *pura bale agung*. A few villages have other days such as Wednesday-Klion, Saturday-Klion, and Thursday-Umanis.

In Buleleng, however, many villages are of a mixed type, either with one meeting at full moon and one on an *uku* day or one at new moon and the other on an *uku* day. The full-moon gathering is always in the *bale agung*, and the new-moon assembly always in the *pura dalĕm*.

575 The religious character of these meetings is perfectly obvious
621 from the situation in the oldest villages, with their two meetings
184 per Hindu-Balinese month, at full moon in the *pura bale agung* and at new moon in the *pura dalĕm*. The manner of seating strictly adhered to in all the older villages[49] confirms this character, as does also the prescribed clothing in many cases, for example in Tĕnganan, Bungaya, and Kubutambahan. Further evidence is the consecration required for members of the village administration in a great number of villages. This is sometimes very elaborate, with the consecration of the highest official (the *kĕbayan*) even more elaborate than that of the lower functionaries.

The meetings were originally religious gatherings at which the people came together as a *desa* community to discuss village affairs, those affairs being in the first place the festivals and ceremonies to be held. It was only much later that other subjects of a

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OF7 Balinese OF7

more secular nature such as land questions began to play a larger rôle, of course particularly once the Hindu-Balinese and later the Hindu-Javanese rulers appeared on the scene, demanding more and more land and taxes. Then the meetings were necessary to determine the attitude of the village and to deliberate how the *desa* could best protect itself against all such violations of its rights.

3

Village Ceremonies

The religious character of the Balinese village community reflected in its temples and its administration can of course also be traced in its various religious ceremonies. We have already seen that the village meetings are of a religious character. Korn rightly says:

> These meetings can, of course, be looked upon as assemblies, but it is better to consider them as religious gatherings. They are, in fact, accompanied by offerings, prayers, and sacred meals ...[10]

Reference has also been made to the *bale agung* as originally having been a sacral men's house and a house of worship for the clan.

The religious ceremonies recurring in every village are the anniversaries of the temples, the harvest feasts, Nyĕpi (the annual purification), and a number of other solemnities which we shall return to below. The temple anniversaries have been described repeatedly,[11] and Nyĕpi has also been treated in various places.[12]

These ceremonies demand not only financial contributions from the villagers, but also contributions in work: the women prepare offerings, the men chop meat, and the young people provide performances of dancing, music, and the like, usually within the context of the boys' and the girls' associations.

An 'ordinary' *desa* has an annual holiday calendar of some five festivals (or four at the least, and sometimes fifteen or more) each *uku* year of 210 days, and at least two others each Hindu year of roughly 360 days. The *desa* of Tĕnganan, however, holds ceremonies the year around.[13] The customary festivals in the *uku*

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the web of their mutual relations, and, by means of comparative studies, to throw more light on any number of phenomena whose nature and origin are still obscure.

It is hard to say which of the various components of the *desa* system deserves priority in treatment. I have let my choice fall on Pura Pĕmayun in the *banjar* of Tĕgal, primarily because this *banjar* must be considered as one of the most important groups within the *desa* area, and also because its territory forms a relatively isolated and clearly delimited unit in the southwestern part of the town. At the same time my choice was stimulated by the presence within the temple organization of two associations charged with performing certain ceremonial dances the description of which, it is hoped, will enhance the attractiveness of this study.

2

The Worship Group

The worship group of Pura Pĕmayun is formed by the members of the *banjar* of Tĕgal, who are organized in a single neighbourhood organization. There are no data on the origin of the association, but it is not probable that a predominantly genealogical grouping lies at its basis, since it numbers persons both of the three higher castes and of the lower caste among its members.

It does not seem over-bold to assume that Pura Pĕmayun was originally a *pura panti*, though there is no knowledge of such an origin among the *banjar* members. The character of a *pura panti* is particularly clear in the region of Karangasĕm, where the term is understood to refer to a *pura pusĕh* in development, venerated by persons who have founded a new village within the territory of an existing *desa* without denying the rights of that mother village to the land.

This may be clarified by an example. In the territory of the *desa* of Sĕlat there are five daughter *desas*: Santi, Sĕbudi, Sogra, Pĕrsana, and Tĕgĕh. These five villages are distinguished from the mother village, the *desa pĕmundĕr*, by the term *desa pĕdasan*. *Pĕdasan* is understood to mean a hamlet, a new settlement. The *pĕmundĕr*

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OF7 Balinese OF7

621 is the boundary of the territory over which the mother *desa* has the right of disposal. The *pĕdasans* of Sĕlat are not *banjars*, since they do not belong to the same worship group as the mother village. In fact the *adat* and the temple organization of each of the *pĕdasans* display important differences from those of the mother *desa* and of the other *pĕdasans*. Consequently the *pĕdasans* are quite consciously distinguished from the *banjars* (there are seven of those in the mother village), which also play a rôle in the internal organization of the *pĕdasans* themselves.

792 621 769 It is known from recent history that in broad outline a *pĕdasan* is founded in the following way. (It should, however, be taken into account that the data available all refer to one and the same part of Karangasĕm.) After several households from the mother village or from elsewhere have settled within the territory of the new *desa* with the permission of the mother village, a graveyard is laid out and its accompanying *pura dalĕm* is built. Then one or more clan temples are constructed, probably with the clan temple of the most important group eventually being expanded by including gods belonging to the more general system of worship. In this way there comes into being a navel temple for the group. Since, however, the land on which the *pĕdasan* is founded belongs to the mother village, and hence is under the protection of its gods, the new navel temple is called *pura panti* (or *pura pĕmaksan* or *pura pĕnataran:* the meaning of these terms will be returned to later). In many cases there is a clan temple within the walls of the *pura panti* which is venerated by only a part of the people of the *desa pĕdasan*.

792 776 629 In the daughter villages of Sĕlat the chief deity in the *pura panti* is as a rule said to be a descendant of the *ratu gĕde pusĕh* of Sĕlat, the god of Sĕlat's navel temple. In this way expression is given to the dependence on the deity whose power extends over the whole territory of the mother *desa*. In the *puras panti* of the Sĕlat *pĕdasans* Batara Sri is also always venerated, a fact pointing towards an originally agrarian character of the group founding the temples.

792 The presence of the so-called *patokan* also provides an indication of the nature of the *pura panti*. A *patokan* is in general use in Ka-

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575 778 As was mentioned, the *pura panti* is sometimes called *pura pĕmaksan* or *pura pĕnataran;* combinations of these terms such as *pura pĕmaksan panti* or *pura pĕnataran panti* also occur. *Pĕmaksan*, literally 'association', refers to the association of village founders, which will usually have been an association of farmers. Agrarian groups function as worship associations for special agrarian temples throughout the island. The most important of such agrarian sanctuaries are the *puras subak*, the irrigation-association temples, but there are also temples which have to do with dry-field farming: the so-called *puras pĕbiyanan* and *puras bĕnua*, to be found in Jĕmbrana and elsewhere. A well-known example of a temple for dry-field crops is Pura Maduwe Karang at Kubutambahan. Also named after the *pĕmaksan* founding the *pura panti* is the *bale pĕmaksan* in the forecourt of the temple, which can be considered as the prototype of the *bale agung* on the one hand, but also has in itself the possibility to develop into a *bale banjar*.

621 778 In the designation *pura pĕnataran* the accent falls on the consolidated complex of dwelling compounds (*natah* or *karang*) comprising the hamlet. Caring for ground magic, for the ritual purity of the residential village, is one of the first tasks of a new settlement. It is in this context that Ratu Maduwe Karang, who as one of the chief gods has an altar in the inner court of every *pura bale agung* in the Kintamani area and who is the guardian of the residential village and the planted fields, is to be considered.

To return to Pura Pĕmayun: there is reason to believe that this temple has developed from a *pura panti*. For historical and geographical reasons, when the *banjar* was formed the veneration of this sanctuary lying within its territory became a task entrusted to it alone.

621 628 794 In keeping with this hypothesis is the fact that the designation '*banjar* Tĕgal' suggests the founding of a hamlet amidst gardens and dry fields. There are, however, striking differences from the *pĕdasans* of the *desa* of Sĕlat. In Sĕlat the development was such that the *pĕdasans* today are essentially complete *desas* which only have to recognize certain rights exercised by the mother *desa*, while the worship group of Pura Pĕmayun is in essence a *banjar*

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which forms part of the worship community of the *desa* of Buleleng with regard to the three village temples. Also in the case of the *banjar* of Tĕgal, however, caring for ground magic is a matter concerning primarily the *desa* as a whole: it is the *desa* that takes the lead in the Nyĕpi ceremonial.

There is no known tradition regarding the origin of Pura Pĕmayun, nor can more than a few indications be derived from the names of the gods venerated. It is possible to establish a link with the semi-historical, semi-legendary hero and ruler of Buleleng, I Gusti Panji Sakti. The chief of the temple's attributes, a sacred creese, is said to derive from him. Furthermore it is required that on placing objects of any magical significance in the bases or cornices of temple structures after restorations a descendant of Panji Sakti must be present to perform the symbolic act. (This is, in fact, also true for other sanctuaries in the *banjar* of Tĕgal, even for household and family temples.) The main altar, oriented towards the east, is, moreover, dedicated to Dewa Ayu Ngurah Panji, a fact that points towards relations with the large *desa* of Panji lying to the southwest.

The sources throw little light on the special nature of the relation between Pura Pĕmayun and Panji Sakti. Panji Sakti's creese, which serves as the palladium (*pĕjĕnĕngan*) of the temple, is kept in a special building, a sort of safe in the form of a chapel standing in the *pĕmangku*'s compound, and is brought to light to serve as a temple attribute only on the anniversary of Pura Pĕmayun. A *pĕjĕnĕngan* is an object of supernatural origin into which the deity descends and resides, and from which he rules (*jĕnĕng*). It is at the same time a sacral object providing legitimation for a temple or a person. Hence Panji Sakti's creese serves to corroborate the link with the temples in the *desa* of Panji.

Various royal families possess a *pĕjĕnĕngan* serving to demonstrate that their descent is legitimate and has been confirmed by the deity. In such cases the *pĕjĕnĕngan* comes to be a symbol of state. Prominent families also sometimes have a *pĕjĕnĕngan*. Weapons are by no means rare among the *pĕjĕnĕngans* belonging to the temples. More frequent, however, are other objects such as statues, coins,

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After he has been killed the *patih*'s men have a very arduous return journey, since nature is preparing to avenge the murder. Badly battered, the troops come home. Layon Sari is then asked in marriage by the *anak agung*, but she commits suicide in order not to abandon Jayaprana.

The ballad is known throughout Bali. Many *desas* have one or more copies of it among their *lontars*, and it enjoys particular interest. It is much staged in the *arja*, the folk theatre. The metre lends itself particularly well to the high, thin voices of young girls which people hear with pleasure. For this reason all the young girls in northern Bali know the poem by heart, so it is said.

The ballad has become further known through the activities of the reading clubs.[4] It was published in *Djataju*, a pre-war Balinese monthly, and was selected to be included in part in an anthology of Balinese literature intended for teacher-training courses. Pupils at the grammar schools at Singaraja have staged it as a play in a kind of modern adaptation.[5] Not only is the tale universally known on Bali, but it has also been spread on Java through a Javanese translation, or adaptation, made by Mas Nitisastra.[6]

THE DESA KALIANGĔT

Kaliangĕt lies in northern Bali in the principality of Buleleng, some ten miles to the west of the capital, Singaraja, and a mile south of the coastal road. In every respect, Banjar, which is situated to the east of Kaliangĕt and is the seat of the *punggawa*, or district officer, is a more important centre.

Banjar and its environs, the flat *sawah* area as well as the mountains beginning due south, were the scene of much fighting in the first years after the war. The resistance movement found a great following among the population there, and in such a situation accidents were bound to happen. The *punggawa* himself was among the victims of the struggle for liberty. The *desa* proved to be reluctant to come into contact with Dutch people.[7] The recent struggle against the Dutch had not been the first in its history:

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in 1868 the Banjarese took part in a battle in which a Dutch expeditionary force was repulsed.

Kaliangĕt is known as a poor *desa*. Few people have *sawahs*, and the inhabitants seek work elsewhere as wage earners, either in the neighbourhood or on the coffee plantations in the hills. (A marriage is also often a motive to forsake the *desa* completely, so that even in the village proper there are vacant compounds.) The *desa* lies on the last spurs of the mountain slopes, on the fringe of the irrigable *sawah* area.

Health conditions along the whole of the northern coast of Bali and the steep mountain slopes are bad. Especially during the seasonal shift of the monsoon, epidemics frequently break out, with many people dying. People often impute such deaths to black magic, which they themselves also practice. The many cases of eye disease there are also generally ascribed to it, as well as those of insanity.

Considering its penurious state, plus the general post-war condition of scarcity and the loss of lives through the disorders of the past years, it is understandable that the *desa* of Kaliangĕt should ponder on ways of bettering circumstances and life in general. Any attempt at improvement had, in the first instance, to be undertaken in the religious field. Calamities revive the feeling that the people have been negligent in that sphere. On Bali after the war there was a true religious revival, discernible in the fulfilment of duties towards the gods and expressing itself in temple restoration, cremation, and so forth. This is a normal phenomenon. The unusual feature of the Jayaprana festival did not lie therein, but in the way that feeling found its expression.

Kaliangĕt is not a *Bali-aga desa*, a village with traditions dating from the pre-Hindu period, such as the neighbouring Sidatapa, and consequently cremation is regarded as the legitimate method of disposing of the dead.

JAYAPRANA AND KALIANGĔT

In Kaliangĕt there is a temple dedicated to Jayaprana, Pura Jaran Guyang. With the help of surrounding *desas* this temple was

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Chapter One

The Village and the Villagers

On the highway linking the Balinese capital Den Pasar with the seat of the regent of Karangasĕm, the small village of Nyuhtĕbĕl lies two miles to the west of the steep slope of Mount Bugbug, and from there a poorly maintained country road runs northwards to the valley communities of Pasĕdahan and Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan. Few people realize that that insignificant road leads to a world full of curiosities and mysteries, a world of relics from earlier ages, albeit that the past they represent is not so inexorably dead as that of the treasures from the Egyptian valley of the kings.

On his very arrival at Pasĕdahan the visitor experiences the pleasant sensation that there is much here which is different from elsewhere. A square pile of stones with a *mĕnur* – a crown-shaped stone decoration in which the one person detects a stylized *lingga*, the other a flower bud – at each corner is pointed out as the general place of worship for the village, under the name of *bĕdugul* (elsewhere the name of a *subak* temple). On being asked where the *bale agung* (the offering pavilion of a village, and often also its assembly hall) is, the surprised villager answers, "Gone, vanished into the air". The foundations are still to be found, however, overgrown with weeds.

Though from the map one obtains the impression that the two villages practically form one solid unit, it is not possible to go to Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan *via* Pasĕdahan, since a ravine separates them.[1] Instead one has to bypass the residential villages and follow the eastern hill path (from where the houses can be seen lying in the valley), go through a wooden gateway (to be distinguished from the *desa* gates), and then descend in a westerly direction to Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan.

[p.303]

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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621 361 This *desa* is completely different from the ordinary Balinese village in appearance. Extending roughly five hundred yards from north to south and two hundred fifty yards from east to west, it gives the impression of being a compact settlement built according to a preconceived plan. Three broad main streets with rows of guava trees down the middle divide the village into four large, approximately equal strips, each subdivided into two or three blocks of compounds by side streets set at right angles to the main streets. Running water streams through the stone gutters beside the streets and along the rear of the compounds.

The village lies locked between the ravine to the south mentioned above, the Pandĕk River (with little water) to the west, and the row of foothills to the east. The northern limit consists of a *desa* street and the *kaja-kauh* (northwestern) bathing place, which, like the street and compound gutters, receives its water from a conduit dug through rough terrain from the Buhu River, running through the eastern part of the village territory.

Since the *desa* rises sharply to the north the streets are terraced. The transitions from one terrace to another consist of steep inclines of river stones.

One's attention is particularly attracted by the unbroken row of serried roofs of coconut leaf and palm fibre on either side of the streets. At first sight they seem to form one long house, because of the peculiar location of the dwellings and other buildings in the compounds. The compounds, surrounded by walls half of stone and half of clay, are roughly twenty yards deep and fifteen yards across. A small stone incline leads from the street to the plain stone compound gate (*jĕlanan awang*) with its wooden door, which is closed at night. Often small holes are left open near the ground on either side of the gate so that the dogs can get in and out. Higher up on both sides are the offering niches (*bĕlong jĕlanan*), usually triangular in shape.

342 Upon entering the compound one finds oneself beneath an oblong roof stretching along the street side, with the space to the right used as a place to store agricultural and other equipment, and that to the left as the *bale buga*. This *bale* is specifically Tĕngan-

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361 311 538 Tĕnganan:[3] The village came to be called Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan because of the skill of the village women in making *gĕringsing* fabrics. The village boundaries are described in detail in the *desa* constitution.

● 621 133 The topography is extremely rough. The footpaths are very hard to traverse especially in the rainy season, and several expeditions through the *desa* territory and to other villages in the neighbourhood helped me understand why the region of Karangasĕm was earlier described by the military patrols as *kurang asĕm*, 'short of breath'. Running through the western part of the village territory from north to south is the Panděk River, and in the eastern part the Buhu River streams through a fine complex of *sawahs*. There are two other settlements in the *desa* territory. Kĕstala, Wra Kĕstala, or Ora Kĕstala in the north is a hamlet of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan founded owing to special circumstances. Gumung, a few miles to the north of Tĕnganan, is a daughter *desa* of the village of Bungaya. Both settlements have their own territory, the first as a *banjar*, and the second as a *desa*.

621 [162] In 1926 the total population of the village proper of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan was 603, of which 415 could be considered as full-fledged citizens. The others were either people born elsewhere or people who had transgressed village customs in one way or another. Anyone used to the sturdy figure of Balinese farmers is struck by the none-too-healthy appearance of these valley inhabitants. This is probably to be attributed in part to the fact that the closed-in location of the village leads to a sultry temperature during the day. On the other hand the village has the advantage of significantly longer cool periods, since the sun rises later over the eastern hills and disappears earlier behind those to the west than is the case in the open plains, and moreover the absence of stagnant water, even in the remotest corners of the village, has [164] the result that there are very few mosquitoes, and so no malaria. Other possible causes for the less vigorous appearance of the people are the idle way of life of the actual core of the population and the high degree of inbreeding. The members of the village

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are forbidden to work in the *sawahs*,[9] though they obtain a large share of the yield from the abundant, excellent farmland. The *desa* members receive their crop share from their *pĕnyakaps*, people of Kĕstala, Gumung, and neighbouring *desas*. The inbreeding is the result of the nearly total endogamy and the preference to marry within one's own class and family.

Reference should also be made to abuses in the sexual field. The first impression in this regard is one of extreme strictness and soberness. But prolonged engagements plus the custom of allowing young men to hold an erotic feast with women from outside the *desa* once a year have contributed no small amount to the spread of venereal diseases. I was informed in strict confidence of several serious cases of neglected syphilis, and there was great diffidence when I referred them to the government physician at Karangasĕm. (A survey made in 1929 showed that at that time there was not much venereal disease.)

As far as I could trace, the population is tending to decrease.[10] This seems to me all the more regrettable because the Tĕnganan-anese have a definite understanding of hygiene (though one would not think it on viewing the accumulation of rubbish in various places). There are bathing places on every side of the village, some of them hewn with great care in the banks of the Pandĕk River.

Persons suffering from certain contagious diseases are banished from the village to the so-called *alas tĕben*, the low-lying woods on the border with Pasĕdahan, where they are left almost entirely to their fate. On asking what such people should live from I was answered that they could eat whatever they wanted to if they looked after it themselves, but a visit to the spot proved to me that nothing would grow there. The result is that the isolated persons disappear after a time and are never heard of again: a cheap method of caring for the ill. Among the persons isolated in this way are not only lepers (who, in fact, are nowadays well cared for in the leper colony at Bugbug), but also persons suffering from skin diseases, for instance *abong*, a sort of scabies, and similar afflictions that are probably not even contagious. In Tĕnganan as elsewhere on Bali, the care for such sick persons is entrusted to,

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Chapter Two

Legal Communities in Tĕnganan

In Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan there are three kinds of legal communities: (1) the territorial communities with compulsory membership (the *desa* and the *banjar:* it is true that membership is by invitation, but refusal means complete loss of rights), (2) the non-territorial communities to which one belongs by birth (the young people's associations and the *tempek* or *pauman*), and (3) the communities formed by a free compact of individuals (irrigation associations, the *sĕkaha patus*, and music and dance associations).

I

Territorial Communities

THE DESA

The *desa* is the supreme community, which devotes itself to the service of the gods, summoning the whole population to cooperate for the purpose. Except on the occasion of a few specific religious ceremonies it is impossible for elements from outside the *desa* to participate. Anyone who marries a man or woman who is not from the village and thus acquires alien family ties loses all rights in the *desa* and must either live in the immigrant *banjar* of Pande or in Kĕstala, the hamlet for exiles. Shortcomings towards the *desa* are considered as shortcomings towards the gods, and those guilty of them are punished, often by being stripped of all their possessions and set outside the village. The Tĕngananese begin to prepare themselves for the service of the gods as children, as adolescent boys and girls they go through a whole course of training, and as married men and women they are expected to fulfil all religious obligations – a difficult task, as will be seen.

621 573 571 621 626 [783] 317

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62| The word *desa* is used to indicate three different notions. In the first place it designates the residential village lying within the *desa* gates on the south, east, and north sides and the Panděk River on the west side (where there was also such a *desa* gate in earlier times). In the second place it signifies the village authority, jointly exercised by the citizenry, inclusive of the *desa* officials. And in the third place it indicates every member of the village association.

The whole territory of the *desa*, whose boundaries on every side are carefully defined in the village constitution, is referred to as *payar*, *wĕwĕngkon*, *pĕrbumian desa*, or *palasan desa*. Inside the *pĕrbumian desa* lies the *payar* of the *desa* of Gumung, a daughter *desa* of Bungaya which does not have a *bale agung* of its own, though it does have a *pura desa*, a *pura puseh*, and a *pura dalĕm*. The Tĕngananese own a large share of the lands inside the *payar* of Gumung. These lands are held permanently under Tĕngananese right of disposal, but are operated by people of Gumung, who as a result are in something of a dependent position to the Tĕngananese. The people of Gumung are answerable for unpunished crimes committed within their *payar*. For the rest, however, Gumung has nothing to do with Tĕnganan. Its inhabitants perform *desa* services at Bungaya and participate in the *usaba* in the *bale agung* there. They owe no levies or services to the *desa* of Tĕnganan.

42| The *banjar* of Kĕstala also has a *payar* of its own, but the inhabitants do not own any of the lands there except their dwelling compounds, and work the *sawahs* owned by Tĕngananese. Persons from Kĕstala do own lands outside the village boundaries of Tĕnganan, however. Originally Kĕstala was intended as a border guard against Sibĕtan. Later Tĕnganan used the settlement as a place of exile for violators of the *desa adat* who could not be tolerated in the *banjar* of Pande. Administratively Gumung comes under Tĕnganan, and Kĕstala under Sibĕtan (which is to be changed, since the hamlet now falls under a different district head from the one over Tĕnganan).

The *desa* of Tĕnganan is clearly to be considered as one of the wealthiest in all of Bali. It has already been pointed out that it has at its disposition an extraordinarily large village territory. Most

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OF7 Balinese OF7

THE TEMPEKS

575 In southern Bali the *banjars* are divided in *tempeks* or neighbourhoods, which as a rule are not legal communities. However, in Karangasĕm, and also in the *desa* of Tĕnganan, the term *tempek* or *pauman* is used to designate a legal community comprising everyone obliged to attend the ruler. In Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan there are two of these groups, the *tempekan kaja* and the *tempekan kĕlod*. In this case *kaja* (north) and *kĕlod* (south) do not have any territorial significance, since the members of each group are scattered throughout the village, but refer to the location of the *klihan*'s house. Though the task of these associations is exclusively that of providing palm and young coconut leaves to the court and performing court services, they play a significant rôle in the *desa* in that the hereditary post of *klihan tempek* apparently endows the holder with such pre-eminence that he has an important judiciary task.

The property of each of these two associations, both of which have members in the *banjar* of Pande, consists of two *sawahs* whose yield is used to supply persons going to do service at the capital with provisions for the journey. Whatever may be left over goes into the *tempek* treasury, which derives funds from fines and entrance fees as well. There is also a *tempek* in the *banjar* of Kĕstala, which owns several *sawahs* outside the territory of Tĕnganan.

575 The *desa*, the *banjars*, the young people's associations, and the
621 *tempeks* are all legal communities with compulsory membership – that is to say, a person who meets membership requirements cannot refuse to join them when he is requested to do so, unless he wishes to live on almost completely without rights.

Such associations serve the general interests of the village and the ruler. Besides them there are on Bali a large number of voluntary associations to meet individual needs. Van Stein Callenfels says regarding Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan, "Club life, which is highly developed on Bali in general, would appear to have reached an extraordinary level in Tĕnganan ..."[3] As I had earlier presumed,[4] this is incorrect. The village constitution forbids the creation of

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OF7 Balinese OF7

new associations other than *sawah* associations, and 'club life' is, accordingly, very restricted.

3
Voluntary Associations

SAWAH ASSOCIATIONS

It is clear from the above stipulation in the village constitution that the *sawah* associations are considered as voluntary associations. They are, in fact, not only private, but often temporary in character.

In Tĕnganan the notion does not obtain that the water belongs to the gods or to the ruler. Like the *sawah*-association temple, it is a possession of the ground. Hence anyone who owns land also has water, though it must be dammed up in the river and conducted to the *sawahs*. The irrigation system in Tĕnganan is still in the small-scale stage. Various complexes of farmland inside the *desa* were gradually made irrigable, independently of one another. The result is a large number of weirs quite close to each other which have the advantage of requiring only a small amount of labour to be repaired and maintained each year. The limited number of workers on the weirs means that no elaborate organization is necessary, especially since the persons operating the land have only a temporary interest in it: the Tĕngananese proper are forbidden to work in the ricefields, so that the offering *sawahs* of the *desa* and the membership shares and private *sawahs* of the core villagers are farmed by other people on shares. The fields are usually awarded to sharecroppers (*pĕnyakaps*) in whole complexes or *chariks* drawing their irrigation water simultaneously from one conduit, and to sharecropper associations called *sĕkahas pĕnyakap*.

Hence there are on the one hand the holders of the *sawahs* in a *charik*, organized in a *sĕkaha charik*, and on the other the *sĕkaha pĕnyakap*, consisting of all or part of the persons working the *sawahs* of the *sĕkaha charik* and looking after the waterworks.

There are fourteen *chariks* in the village territory of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan, seven to the northeast of the Buhu River and

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OF7 Balinese OF7

Chapter Four

ADMINISTRATIVE, JUDICIAL, AND LEGISLATIVE MATTERS

I

Administrative Affairs

621 623 Every inhabitant of Tĕnganan who is not excluded from membership becomes a member of the *desa*, a *kĕrama desa* or *wong desa*, on marrying a girl or a young man of the *desa*. It is compulsory to inform the *desa* of the marriage. A man who [587] marries a widow from the *desa* or a woman from another *desa*, whether or not the latter has been married before, does not become a *desa* member. A new member becomes one of the *pĕngluduhans*, the *desa* members without a rank. Both husband and wife become members as a result of their marriage, and each has his own task to fulfil, though the only *desa* meeting in which the women participate is the one at which plans are discussed for the major *usaba* or purification ceremony in Kalima. At that meeting they sit on the left (west) side of the *bale*. It goes without saying that the women members of the *desa*, like the men, may not be physically deformed.

623 624 *Desa* membership is always terminated for husband and wife at the same time. Reasons for the termination may be the marriage of one of the couple's children, a second marriage on the part of the husband, the death of one of the couple, or a transgression of the *desa adat* by either the husband or the wife. If, for instance, a woman who is a *desa* member takes to carrying on trade or enters the *bale agung* while she is with child, or if a man fails to appear at the *desa* meeting in appropriate meeting dress (though a *pĕngluduhan* may fail to comply with the regulation twice), goes outside his *banjar* without being clad in *adat* dress and wearing his creese, passes the night outside the *desa* territory without permission from

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OF7 Balinese OF7

meeting except instalments of a life-long fine, which are collected at home.

The services requisitioned by the *desa* are almost all of them connected with religious matters. The preparation of the offerings demands a great deal of work, which must be done by the male members of the *desa*. A person who fails to fulfil his duty is fittingly punished, and even those who are prevented by illness from performing their services are confined to their homes for three days. The men also have the duty of appearing with their fighting cocks on certain occasions, and the women *desa* members are required to rear pigs to be sold to the *desa* for fixed low prices in order to be used in the purification rites.

These duties of *desa* membership are counterbalanced by certain advantages. Everyone who takes an active part in the *desa* offering ceremonies enjoys the yield from a *bukti*. The *desa* members, including the officials, have a different share each year; the plots for the others are fixed *sawahs*. Since the number of core villagers is variable, the number of *buktis* differs from year to year, and hence also the number of plots left over as *chariks achi*.

Each of the *pĕngluduhans* except the newest pair has as his share two and a half plots, while the two most recent *pĕngluduhans* have four plots each for the first year. *Desa* members of the higher ranks also have four plots each. The shares are reapportioned each year on the first day of Kasanga, the ninth month. On this date the *desa* members gather in front of the *bale agung*, where the *klihans bahan* sketch a rough map of the *buktis* and in order of seniority the members make their choice. (Nowhere else on Bali is a map used in this way.)

A newly married person does not receive a share until the next apportionment, while if, as a result of the marriage of a child, a man loses his *desa* membership before the rice is ripe, he forfeits his right to his yield, which instead goes to the *desa* treasury. Consequently most marriages take place in the month of Kasa, when the rice is golden yellow in the fields – this in contrast to the rest of Bali, where marriages usually take place after the harvest, because there is then money for the wedding.

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OF7 Bali OF7

735 lately, in places frequented by tourists, people are beginning to
177 ask for money as a return for a service. Ordinarily even a child would be scolded and shamed by anyone who heard him ask something from a stranger. A gift must be reciprocated and we
431 were often embarrassed by the return presents of our poor neigh-
123 bours. We gave Ktut Adi, a little dancer of eight, a scarf of no great value; one day soon after she came to us with a basket of rice, some eggs, and a live chicken, carried by her mother because the load was too great for her. Children of the neighbourhood that Rose had treated for infected wounds always came back with presents of fruit, cakes, or rice which they handed casually to our house-boy, never mentioning them to us, as if they wanted to avoid making a demonstration of their generosity. Even children have a strong sense of pride.

565 The aristocracy is despotic and arrogant, but the ordinary
181 people, although used to acknowledging the superiority of their masters, are simple and natural in an unservile and unsubmissive way. By the threat of passive disobedience and boycott they kept
[626] the princes from overstepping their bounds. Europeans com-
[648] plain that the Balinese make bad servants; they are too free, too frank, and do not respond to the insolent manner that the white man has adopted as " the only way to deal with natives."

577 Their moral code consists in maintaining their traditional behaviour, observing their duties towards their fellow villagers and paying due respect to the local feudal princes. Among themselves they are kind and just, avoiding unnecessary quarrels and solving their disputes by the simplest and most direct methods.

621 The villages are organized into compact boards or councils,
476 independent of other villages. Every married man — that is,
[623] every grown man — is a member of the council and is morally and physically obliged to co-operate for the welfare of the community. A man is assisted by his neighbours in every task he cannot perform alone; they help him willingly and as a matter of duty, not expecting any reward other than the knowledge that, were they in his case, he would help in the same manner. In this way

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OF7 Bali OF7

paid labour and the relation of boss to coolie are reduced to a minimum in Bali. Since the world of a Balinese is his community, he is anxious to prove his worth, for his own welfare is in direct relation to his social behaviour and his communal standing. Moral sanctions are regarded as stronger than physical punishment, and no one will risk the dreaded punishment of exile from the village, when a man is publicly declared "dead" to his community. Once "thrown away," he cannot be admitted into another of the co-operative villages, so no misfortune could be greater to the Balinese than public disgrace. This makes of every village a closely unified organism in which the communal policy is harmony and co-operation — a system that works to everybody's advantage.

By their ingenuity and constant activity they have raised their main occupation, the cultivation of rice, to levels unsurpassed by other rice-growing nations. Being essentially agriculturists, they are not interested in navigation and trade; living the easy life of the tropics, they are satisfied and well fed. The majority work the land for themselves, so they have not yet become wage-earners and have enough freedom and leisure left to dedicate to spiritual relaxation. They are extraordinarily fond of music, poetry, and dancing, which have produced a remarkable theatre. Their culture, unlike that of their cultural ancestors, the Javanese, is not yet in frank decline. Even the common people are better agriculturists, better craftsmen and artists than the average Javanese. The Balinese are by no means a primitive people.

Moreover, unlike the natives of the South Seas and similar races under white domination, the Balinese are not a dying people; far from that, in the last ten years a constant increase in the birth-rate has been recorded. The 1930 census gave the population of Bali as 1,148,000 people, or about 500 to the square mile, an enormous figure when compared with the 41 per square mile of the United States. This includes the foreign population: 7,935 Chinese, 1,544 Arabs and other Mohammedans, and 411 Europeans, of which only a small percentage are

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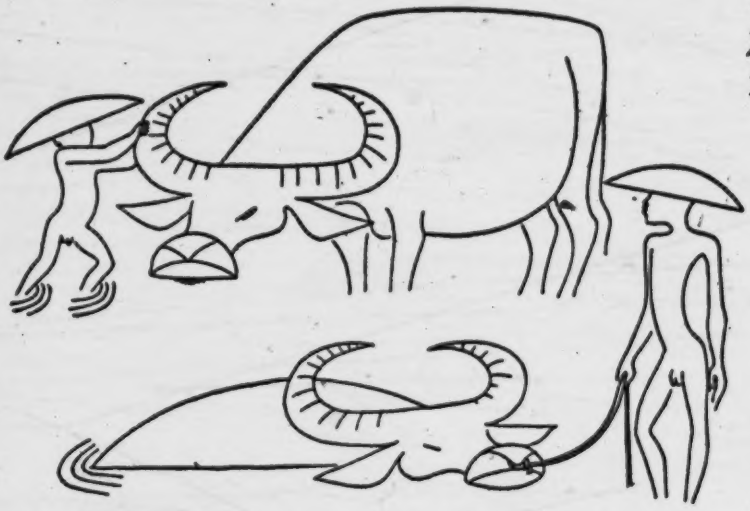
OF7 Bali OF7

CHAPTER III



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THE COMMUNITY

THE VILLAGE

The capitals of the princes' districts, the seats of the regencies, 361
are commercialized half-European, half-Chinese towns like Den
Pasar and Buleleng; but the true life of Bali is concentrated in [621]
thousands of villages and hamlets. With their thatched roofs
they lie buried under awnings of tropical vegetation, the groves
and gardens that provide for the needs of the villagers. Out of
the chartreuse sea of ricefields they surge like dark green islands [245]
of tall palms, breadfruit, mango, papaya, and banana trees.

Underneath the cool darkness, pierced only by the shafts of 351
sunlight that sift through the mesh of leaves, are the houses hid-
den from view by interminable mud walls that are broken at regu-
lar intervals by long narrow gates. All the gates are alike: two
mud pillars supporting a small roof of thick thatch, giving access

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OF7 Bali OF7

231 great choruses. The Balinese are not disturbed by them and sleep peacefully through the hideous noise. The curs are supposed to [776] frighten away witches and evil spirits, but I could never discover how our neighbours knew when it was an ordinary mortal and not a devil that the dogs barked at; they always awoke when a stranger came into the house at night. Such dogs were undoubtedly provided by the gods to keep Bali from perfection.

361 The Balinese make a clear differentiation between the [311] dwelling-grounds and the "unlived" parts of the village, those for public use such as the temples, assembly halls, market, cemeteries, public baths. The village is a unified organism in which [621] every individual is a corpuscle and every institution an organ. The heart of the village is the central square, invariably located in the "centre" of the village, the intersection of the two main avenues: the big road that runs from the Balinese "North-South" and a street that cuts it at right angles from "East-West." Consequently the crossroads are the centre of a Rose of [823] the Winds formed by the entire village; the cardinal directions mean a great deal to the Balinese and the crossroads are a magic spot of great importance.

All around and in the square are the important public places of the village; the town temple (*pura desa*) (A), with its hall of

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OF7 Bali OF7

(*dalem*), which are themselves, those who live within the palace; 565
and the "outsiders" (*djaba*), the common people. From the point of view of the great majority of the Balinese, this is a fallacy, since it is the nobility who are the real outsiders. The feudalism of the Hindu aristocracy was curiously only superimposed on the Balinese patriarchal communism, and centuries of feudal rule have failed to do away with the closed independence of the village communities. Thus the nobility is left devoid of voice where it concerns the inner affairs of the community, despite the Pungawas and Perbekels they appoint to keep an eye on the villagers.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE VILLAGE

One moonlight night the "tock tock" of a *kulkul* attracted us 621 ●
towards the temple of the wind-swept, ancient town of Kinta- 623
mani, on the rim of the foggy crater of the Batur. On the road we joined an old man carrying a torch who informed us they were calling the village members to the monthly meeting in the *balé agung*, the "great house," the council hall of the community. It [344]
was a long shed with a raised platform running along its entire length and with a thick thatch of sugar-palm fibre, faintly lit by a primitive oil lamp. There sat the village Elders, cross-legged, in two rows facing each other, talking quietly, each in his allotted place and carefully avoiding the empty seats of those who had not yet arrived. Slowly the platform filled up. When everybody was present, the old headman of the council called the roll while two assistants went around with flashlights to see that everybody was properly dressed: wearing the ceremonial breast-cloth, and a kris.

Thus the Elders of the old villages like Kintamani meet at each 623
full moon to partake of a ceremonial banquet in the company of 574
their gods. The assistants distributed the food from a large basket, placing a heap of parched rice with a ring of beans around it in front of each man, served by a specified ritual number of handfuls. After the distribution of food was over, the oldest member sat at the extreme end of the *balé agung* in an attitude of prayer and recited a rousing speech to invite the ancestral spirits, the

623 574 pitara, to join in the banquet. With a clear voice he called: "*Kakí! Kakí!* Grandfather! Grandfather!" followed by the formula of invitation. Then he took his seat again at the head of the council, by the side of the little raised wooden throne dedicated to the village forefathers. Then everybody relaxed, breaking the tense silence; they discussed village affairs, the improvements of the temple, the coming feast, and gossiped for a while before wrapping the remaining rice in banana leaves to take home.

621 [182] [769] The ceremony was a clear example of the religious significance of the social organization of the village; the close relationship between the cult of the ancestors and the administration of the community. A Balinese village is a self-contained, independent community, a little republic ruled by a council of representative villagers (*krama desa*), in which everyone has equal rights and obligations. The independent village is called a *desa*, a term we shall employ to designate the legal, "complete" village that has [346] [778] the three reglementary temples: (1) the civil temple (*pura desa*), where the main celebrations are held and where the *balé agung* is located; (2) the temple of "origin" (*pura puséh*, the "navel"), the ancient shrine of the earlier days of the community, dedicated to the symbolical patriarch-founder of the village; and (3) the temple of the dead (*pura dalem*), out in the cemetery.

Such a village is economically and politically independent of all others, except for a curious relation of blood. It often happens [769] that various neighbouring villages are united by a strong bond into an association of related villages which worship a common original ancestor and with a common temple of "origin," located in the oldest village of the group, which they recognize as a "head" or "mother" village. From this it is supposed that the other villages sprung, and when they grew became independent. Such village associations co-operate with one another by sending offerings and representatives to the temple feasts of the other desas.

621 778 623 Just as the temple of origin is the shrine of the Great Ances-

[i.e., a monthly banquet of village council of elders. -Analyst]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

tor, so the *balé agung* is the home of the spirits when they visit their descendants, the symbolical throne of their authority. Like everything in Bali, the *balé agung* is divided into "right" and "left," with the chiefs and council members classified in the same manner. They sit on the long shed either at the right or at the left, on a spot set by their rank. New members act as attendants without a seat, but at the meetings squat on the ground outside the shed, until a seat at the end of the club-house is left to them by the death of a member. They advance progressively with age, the entire line moving up each time there is a vacant seat, until they reach the higher places towards the head of the *balé agung*. The headmen keep a record of each member's position in the building, in which the names of the members are written on the palm-leaf.

Every normal married man who owns a house or a plot of land in the village territory is compelled to join the village association, and his refusal would be punished by the denial of every assistance, confiscation of his property, and possibly even exile from the village. Theoretically all the land in Bali belongs ultimately to the gods, who lease it to the Balinese to work it and live from it; consequently landownership in an absolute sense cannot exist in the Balinese mind. Thus the *desa* authority, as representative of these gods, controls the land of the village, the homes, private and communally cultivated ricefields, grazing-lands, and the grounds left wild (*petjatu*) that provide bamboo, rotan, pandanus, wood, and so forth. From the lands adjoining the *desa* a worthy member may obtain an agricultural plot or the ground for his home. If someone has to move to another village and is justified in leaving, he asks to be released from the association and has the right to take with him the value of his share of the village property, but his land and his house return to the *desa*. His property is confiscated without compensation, Korn says, if he leaves the society without explanation.

The headmen of the association, the *kliang desa*, rules the village in the name of the council. He is usually elected by common

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

622 approval, but his office may be hereditary if the son of a popular chief is believed to possess his father's virtues. Should he be found to be undesirable, he is politely asked to resign and a new *kliang* is elected. A good village chief is a popular and influential man although he may be poor and simple. Once elected and after the choice has been sanctioned by the gods, he cannot decline to hold office, except under severe penalty. Even then his services are not rewarded, and the advantages he enjoys by his position are insignificant; he receives a slightly larger share of land, perhaps a double share of the food distributed from offerings, and he is free of certain duties. He does not receive any salary despite the burden of his obligations and responsibilities; he has to administer the society, preside over the meetings, manage and organize all of the *desa* festivals. He shares the executive
[624] duties of the *desa* with the *penyarikan*, a lesser official (who is not, however, under his authority), a scribe and a number of messengers, none of whom are rewarded.

178 Under the rule of the princes the system was greatly under-
623 mined, especially where the villages grew too large to be effectively managed by such a simple patriarchal organization. In the conquered territories the lands were gradually taken away from the *desa* and its authority was weakened until the function of the *desa* is now reduced to the upkeep of the village institutions, the celebration of village festivals, and religious ceremonies. The *desa* remains, however, the bulwark of the *adat* law, the net of traditional regulations owned by each village, in which all possible cases are carefully worked out in the most remarkable simple logic.

THE BANDJAR

621 As the *desa* Government lost control over the social and eco-
474 nomic organization and as the village grew, simultaneously with
575 the power of the local prince, it became divided into smaller communities within the *desa*, quarters or wards, the *bandjars*: cooperative societies of people bound to assist each other in

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OF7 Bali OF7

marriages, home festivals, and especially during the expensive cremations. The various *bandjars* of a village take part in the *desa* activities, assisting in the repair and improvement of the temples and contributing to the village festivals. The *bandjars* have recaptured a great deal of the administrative power that the *desa* lost to the princes, although they are subject to the present-day Government (that of the Dutch through the princes), but they remain socially independent within their territory, with their boundaries generally established by the main road on one side, the lesser streets on another, and the rivers and ravines on the outskirts of the village. They have often ricefields worked communally to provide for their banquets and to enlarge their income, which is mainly derived from fines and entrance fees, kept in a communal bank that lends money to needy members. Everyone enjoys absolute equality and all are compelled to help one another with labour and materials, often assisting a member to build his house, to prepare his son's wedding, or to cremate a relative.

Membership is compulsory; after marriage a man receives a summons to join the *bandjar*. He is given ample time, but if after the third summons he has not joined, it is considered that he deliberately refuses to comply and he is declared morally "dead," is denied even the right to be buried in the cemetery, and is boycotted from all communal activity.

Like the *desa*, the *bandjar* is ruled by a *kliang bandjar*, elected by the members, with the choice approved by the gods through consultations with mediums. The *kliang* of the *bandjar* is not remunerated for his difficult work, except for the honour attached to his position and certain insignificant concessions like extra rice at banquets, a small percentage of the fines collected, and presents from members who receive special services, like part of the reward offered for lost cattle, for surveys, for assistance in marriages, and so forth. He cannot decline to serve and can be deposed if found unsatisfactory.

The *bandjar* has considerable property: It owns its meeting-

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OF7 Bali OF7

most of the night was spent watching cockfights, plays, and dances.

Most important of *bandjar* property is a little communal temple (*pamaksan*). If the *bandjar* grows beyond the function of village quarters, or "ward," its *pamaksan* temple may become a temple of "origin"; then they will build their formal village temple (*pura desa*), their temple of the dead, out in the cemetery, and, having the three reglementary temples (*kahyangan tiga*) that every complete community needs, they will ask for independence from the village and will become a full-fledged free *desa*.

In the old mountain villages the *desa* system has remained untouched by the influence of the princes. Before the advent of the Dutch, they controlled their states through district landlords, the Pungawas, usually members of the prince's family, who appointed lesser tax-collectors, the Perbekel, one in every village. A Perbekel ruled only with the interest of his master in mind, often disregarding the local *adat*, with the result that he was regarded as an intruder and remained a complete outsider in the affairs of the village. Thus the system was saved because these agents had to be content with collection of taxes and the enforcement of princely orders. But the Balinese could always find regulations to curtail the power of the princes, and if their demands interfered too much with traditional institutions, the people simply boycotted them and refused to obey.

Following the conquest of Bali, the Dutch found the *desas* divided into many small spheres of influence: the princes, the *desa* chiefs, *bandjar* heads, and so forth. In the hasty reorganization of the political system they centralized the Government for control of the complex conglomerate of *desas*, logically enough, following the system of the princes, creating Government districts headed by Dutch officials assisted by the former landlords. They preserved the prince (Regent), the Pungawa, and the Perbekel to see that the taxes were paid. Finding the *desa-bandjar* relationship incompatible with Western management, they re-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

621 631 648 divided the villages, often in an arbitrary way, and renamed the towns and *bandjars*, ignoring their traditional connections. The *desa* became simply any "big" village, and the *bandjar* was simply "hamlet" or "quarter of the village." What was close by was joined together, and what was separated by distance was cut off, forming the so-called Government *desas* and Government *bandjars*. There are cases of *bandjars* merged into one, and small *desas* degraded into *bandjars* or joined with other small *desas* to make a large *desa* worthy of the name, despite the fact that it might have more than one *balé agung*. These new villages exist in official documents, but not in the Balinese mind, forcing the people to make a strong distinction between the "Adat Desa" and the "Gouvermen' Desa."

LAW AND JUSTICE

627 A "bad man" does not have a chance in the strict communal Balinese system. Everyone is so dependent on the co-operation and goodwill of others that he whose conduct is not good, or who in some way fails to be in harmony with his community, becomes a boycotted undesirable.

681 In Bali moral sanctions carry greater weight than physical punishment; light faults bring automatic fines, the confiscation of property, or temporary suspension from the society; but the punishment for major offences range from the dreaded boycott from all *desa* activities to permanent exile, total banishment from the village. Since the death penalty has been abolished by the Dutch, the fearful formula of declaring a man "dead" is now the capital punishment. A man expelled from his village cannot be admitted into another community, so he becomes a total outcaste — a punishment greater than physical death to the Balinese mind. It [762] often happens that a man who has been publicly shamed kills himself.

671 In the *adat* law of every village the line of conduct for every act of the villagers is carefully set down. In a general way, the most serious crimes are those that seriously impair the well-being of the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Ball OF7

community and most especially acts that would weaken the village magic, such as temple vandalism, theft from the gods, arson, running amuck, and murder, some of which may be punished by the killing of the offender on the spot. Everybody has to report, armed, immediately upon the signal of alarm (the fast continuous beating of the large *kulkul*), to be ready to extinguish a fire or to stop a man that has gone temporarily insane and has run wild. In Den Pasar one afternoon the alarm call was sounded. It was the siesta hour, but instantly everybody was up and out; they grabbed sticks, spears, agricultural implements, or whatever was at hand and rushed out, some on bicycles, towards the sound of the *kulkul*. Everybody in the *bandjar* turned out and on the road we even met the old judge, our neighbour, who could hardly walk, but who tagged along brandishing a great sword. It turned out to be simply a fire that was quickly extinguished with everybody's aid. When the excitement was over, we returned home with the crowd, listening to their reminiscences of recent cases of alarm and of men who ran amuck and were killed on the spot. Desecration or theft of temple property, if at night, can also be punished with immediate death. One night in a village near Kesiman two men were caught in the act of robbing the temple. The alarm was sounded and the villagers killed the two men as they put up a fight. They showed us the weapons that were taken from the thieves.

Other serious offences are the consistent failure to perform village duties, disobedience to officials, refusal to pay fines, repeated absence from meetings, theft of village property, especially of legal village documents, adultery, incest, bestiality, rape of an immature girl, witchery, the cutting of certain trees, theft of irrigation water, or damage to another's property, like allowing cattle to trample a planted field. Crimes against the prince, or even against Brahmanas, are severely punished, but they do not affect the spiritual cleanliness of the village — one more instance of the position of the aristocracy as outsiders. An old man told us that in former times a prince might kill or mutilate a man for

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

tuak, they also have duties to perform: they are the leading members of the village association, the priests, witch-doctors, story-tellers, and of course the teachers of writing, poetry, and the arts. Old men are often duck-shepherds, guiding the flocks of ducks to the fields and back.

At one time the dramatic arts were restricted to the men, although older women danced in religious ceremonies. But today girls have successfully invaded the theatrical field. In general the condition of Balinese women is better than in other Eastern countries. A woman has definite rights; the income she derives from the sale of her pigs, her weaving, or the garden produce she sells in the market is her own, and she may dispose of her belongings without the knowledge of her husband. Most women are not only economically independent, but contribute to the expenses of the household. A woman's debts are her own and her husband is not liable for them. The women keep the finances of the family and control the markets.

THE ECONOMIC ORDER

With agriculture as the main occupation of the people and the basis of wealth, the question of the ownership of land is of great importance. Bali presents the amazing spectacle of a land where the deeply rooted agrarian communalism of the people has continued to exist side by side with the feudalism of the noble landlords. We have seen that the true Balinese village is an independent economic and social unit, ruled by a council of villagers with voting power, equal rights for all, and ownership of land restricted by village regulations. The lands are communally cultivated to maintain the village festivals, and even the ground on which the houses stand is village property that can be reclaimed if the tenant abuses his privileges. Since the land and its products belong to the ancestral gods, the idea of absolute property is not firmly rooted among the Balinese. In our household nobody objected when neighbours came and cut flowers and banana leaves without permission.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

Alongside the Balinese commune is the contrasting influence of mediæval princes who have tried, without success, to abolish the village organization and the religion that motivated it, to replace it by feudal rule with an official cult under their control. Passive disobedience at first, and Dutch supremacy later, left the princes in the position of impoverished nominal aristocrats, who, despite the fact that they represent the Government, are excluded from the administrative management of the villages. Through their co-operative societies, the *bandjars* and *subaks*, the Balinese have recaptured some of their village autonomy. However, the communal system has suffered considerably in the feudal territories where the princes have held sway; the communal lands sometimes became part of the estate of the local prince, who gave grants of lands to his vassals in exchange for servitude, and gradually ownership of the land in these districts became more and more individualistic, developing a class of organized small landowners. Village ground cannot legally be disposed of, but sawas have been pawned when there was great need of ready cash. Land has never become a commodity, however, and today the agriculturist is protected to a certain extent by the law forbidding the sale of agricultural lands to foreigners, perhaps one of the wisest laws passed by the Dutch Government.

Economic inequality is not as striking in Bali as elsewhere. Until recently almost everybody wore the same type of clothes, all went barefoot and lived in thatched houses. At first sight they all seemed happy and prosperous. The majority of the population has a roof, enough to eat, and some big silver dollars buried under the earthen floor of the sleeping-quarters. Yet there are some who are extremely poor while others are considered rich. There are people without lands or a house of their own, living a parasitic life of slavery, a remnant of feudalism, attached to the household of a master and eating whatever is given them. A rich family is one who has sawas, a house with a gate of carved stone, a large rice granary, an ornate family temple, and a well-built pavilion for guests. They may have some fine cloths put away

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

chords, sinuous melodies that broke at unexpected places into resonant accents or rolled into fast syncopation. 533 545

When the *réyong* solo was over, the rest joined in again, building up the themes until they reached a furious climax that faded away into the original theme, but enriched by rhapsodical ornamentation on the high instruments against the measured basses and occasional reverberations of the deep gongs. It was an Oriental ultra-modern Bach fugue, an astounding combination of bells, machinery, and thunder.

All of the pieces they played that evening were masterpieces of musical structure, simple, but rich and alive, violent and at the same time refined, having little in common with the spirit of the over-refined, somewhat precious music we had heard in Java.

The performance, we found out afterwards, was given by one of the finest *gamelans*, orchestras, in the island — the *gong* Belaluan, pride of the quarter of the town that was later to become our home. One of the leaders of the *gong* was Gusti Oka, the young prince who became our host. When he rented us part of his house, we went to bed every night to the music of the orchestra that rehearsed only a few doors away in the *balé bandjar*, the communal meeting hall of Belaluan.

The ambition of every *bandjar* is to own the best orchestra in the neighbourhood. It is only very poor and neglected communities that do not have two or three orchestras of their own to play for their feasts and ceremonies. As soon as they can afford it, after their temples are in good order, the most pressing need is to organize musical clubs, procure instruments, and train musicians. Every member of the village association takes an equal pride and interest in the *gamelan* and they contribute gladly, with labour and even with money, to obtain the expensive bronze gongs and bars, to make and carve the frames of the instruments, and to secure teachers to train the musicians. Often the villagers own the instruments of a former orchestra that has fallen into neglect and have to call upon outside orchestras for their feasts; but let them be spurned by a successful modern group in a rival 533 621

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

533 621 bandjar, and they will reorganize their gamelan at once — everybody helping with equal enthusiasm. The old instruments are returned, new frames are made, and all the missing pieces are replaced.

To organize a new musical club a community first selects a head man and a treasurer. The new musicians are chosen from among the young men of the bandjar, who are directed by others with musical experience. It is an honour to belong to such a group, and the members are not paid, but themselves contribute, in whatever way they can, to the acquisition of the instruments. In the group there are even men who do not play, but who are content to carry the instruments from place to place.

533 534 621 [435] The cost of a fine set of instruments often amounts to quite a fortune. The estimated value of the gong Belaluan was put at about fifteen hundred guilders. The actual monetary expenses were paid in instalments, and even after four years of profitable playing for the hotel, there still remained four hundred guilders unpaid. Of this apparently exaggerated figure a considerable part goes to buy a good set of large gongs, which are no longer made and are now a rarity and at a premium. The Balinese can make the bars of the metallophones, but the large gongs came from Java, from Semarang, where the last great makers of gongs lived. The richly carved frames of teakwood covered with pure goldleaf are also expensive. In former times it was a favourite hobby of the princes to form large orchestras and play in them themselves, but they are not quite so prosperous now, and today the organizations are more often independent, and it is the community that owns the orchestra. In Bali the orchestra consists of the set of instruments rather than of a group of musicians who own their instruments, as it is understood among us. In their zeal for improvement, the group of Belaluan went even further; fine costumes were made for the players and a special house was built to store the instruments, a shed for rehearsals. They even undertook to finance the repairs of the little temple of the bandjar, a

[292] [349] 533 621

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

good example of the love of the Balinese for their music and the pride they show in their orchestras. [533] [621]

When the orchestra is assembled and the musicians are sufficiently trained, rehearsals called by a special tomtom (*kulkul*) are held every night after the work of the day is done. Although it is a requirement in the education of every prince to be able to play many instruments, the musicians are generally ordinary villagers without distinction of caste, and the strict rule that a man of low caste must always sit at a lower level than a nobleman is completely ignored; in an orchestra, at least as long as a performance or a rehearsal is in progress, a prince becomes democratic. [564] Each musician trains a substitute, often a child, to take his place in case of disability; in this way a musical school is formed. A good musician is not satisfied to play one instrument; he must be able to play all equally well and must know the music of other types of orchestras than his own. [868]

The leaders are the two drummers, the best musicians of the group, selected by the group for their musical knowledge. It is generally the orchestra leaders who compose the new pieces. Of the two composers in Belaluan, one was a chauffeur and the other a poor neighbour of ours who worked occasionally carrying loads to the ships. I was told that I Lotring, leader of an orchestra with a great reputation (the famous *pelegongan* of Kuta, revived through the efforts of Colin McPhee), spoke and thought of nothing but *gamelans* and music, and it was said that he dreamed his compositions. I Lotring is the author of a masterpiece of rhythm called *Gambangan*. New compositions are elaborated gradually by the leader through criticism and suggestions from other orchestra members.

Rehearsals often last a period of months before a new piece has been rounded out enough to be played publicly. Modifications and improvements are made during the course of the rehearsal; often a drummer stops the rehearsal, walks to one of the high keyboards, and plays his suggestion for a change. The group

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

621 771 Rather than a sectarian Church system, separate from the daily life and in the hands of a hierarchy of priests to control and exploit the people, the religion of Bali is a set of rules of behaviour, a mode of life. The resourceful Balinese fitted their religious system into their social life and made it the law (*adat*) by which the supernatural forces are brought under control by the harmonious co-operation of everyone in the community to strengthen the magic health of the village. Like a human being, the community possesses a life power that wears away and must be fed by the regular performances of magic acts of the "right," the side of righteousness. The life power is seriously impaired by the magic evil, that of the "left," or by the polluting effects of sickness and death. Bestiality, incest, suicide, and temple vandalism are among the acts of individuals that would make the entire village *sebel*, or magically weak. The spiritual health is also undermined by the gradual predominance of evil forces, the demons and witches that haunt the village. Some of these are easily disposed of, but the main concern of the Balinese [769] centres in the propitiation of the protecting ancestors who descend to this earth on special holidays and at the anniversaries of the innumerable temples, when they receive offerings and entertainment from the people. By these ceremonies and temple festivals the populace hopes to entice the spirits to remain among them; the beauty of the offerings, the pleasant music, the elaborate theatrical performances, aim to keep them from growing bored and leaving.

476 621 771 Motivated by this background of religious beliefs, the Balinese found it necessary to establish a system of communal co-operation to provide for the magnificent festivals that are such an important part of their life. The spirit of co-operation soon extended to their personal and economic life and developed into a primitive agrarian commune in which every village was a socially and politically independent little republic, with every citizen enjoying equal rights and obligations. These villages

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

were ruled by councils of village members and officials who governed as representatives of the ancestral spirits. Since the land, source of all wealth, also belonged to the ancestors, individual ownership of land was not recognized, and it is remarkable, but typical, that the village officials still govern as a duty to the community and without remuneration.

Furthermore, the Balinese have been extremely liberal in matters of religion. Every time a new idea was introduced into the island, instead of repudiating it, they took it for what it was worth and, if they found it interesting enough, assimilated it into their religion, since no one knew what power there might be in the new gods. In this manner, from all the sects and cults that at one time or another reached the island, they selected anew the principles that best suited their own ideas and accumulated a vast store of religious power. Buddha became to them the younger brother of Siva, and if the efforts of the Christian missionaries who are attempting to convert the Balinese succeed, it is not unlikely that in the future "Sanghyang Widi," the exalted name that the missionaries have adopted for Jesus, will become a first cousin of Siva and Buddha and will enjoy offerings and a shrine where he can rest when he chooses to visit Bali.

TEMPLES AND TEMPLE FEASTS

The temple is certainly the most important institution on the island and the clearest illustration of the spirit of the Balinese religion. There are temples everywhere, from the modest family shrines in every household, to the extravagant temples of the princes and great town temples; large or small, plain or richly carved temples found in the ricefields, in the cemeteries, in the markets, on the beaches, in caves, among the tangle of gnarled roots of old *waringins*, on deserted hill tops and even on the barren rocks along the coastline.

When we discovered that the Balinese did not seem to mind

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

Other shrines that are never missing are the little houses for *Ngrurah Alit* (I) and *Ngrurah Gedé* (J), the "secretaries" of the gods, who watch that the proper offerings are made, and the stone niche for the *Taksú* (Q), the interpreter of the deities. It is the *Taksú* who enters the bodies of mediums when in a trance and speaks through them to make known the decisions of the gods to the people. There is still one more shrine, the *Maospait* (P), dedicated to the totemic gods of the settlers from Madjapahit, the "original deer" (*medjangan seluang*). This can be recognized by a small sculpture of a deer's head or by the stylization of antlers carved in wood.

There are, besides, other pavilions; one in the middle of the temple which serves as a communal seat for the gods, the *pepelik*, or *paruman* (H), and the *balé piasan* (R, S), simple sheds for offerings.

This lengthy description is still far from complete and is limited to the main features of a would-be average temple, but unfortunately such typical temples could hardly be found in Bali. Despite the rules, practically every temple has curious contradictory individual features; besides, such is the variety of types of temples and so great the local differences, that only for the purpose of a general understanding of the spirit of Balinese temples can this "typical" temple be of use. To note down all the variants of Balinese temples would require a great volume.

Besides the family shrines, every Balinese "complete" community, a *desa*, should have at least the three reglementary temples: first a "naval" temple, *pura puséh*, the old temple of the original community from which the village sprang; a second, *pura desa*, the town temple for official celebrations of the entire village, which, in case it has a *balé agung*, the old-fashioned assembly hall of the village Elders, receives the name of *pura balé agung*; and third, a *pura dalam*, the temple of the dead, built out in the cemetery, dedicated to the deities of death and cremation. It often happens that the *pura puséh*, despite its being the most

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

346 important centre of worship, is located in another village or even
621 in another district, because it was from there that came the settlers of the later village. In some places the *pura puséh* and the *pura desa* are combined into one, with only a wall separating the two departments. There are still the private temples of the princes; the royal temples (*pura panataran*), and the *pura dadia*, the private temple of origin of the family, the connecting link between the scattered branches of a common stock. Other important temples are the *pura bedugul*, the rice temple of each agricultural guild; the *pura pamaksan*, little temples of each village ward (*bandjar*), from which the *pura puséh* evolves; hill temples (*pura bukit*), sea temples on the beaches (*pura segara*), temples for the deities of seed and markets (*pura melanting*), bathing-temples, temples in lakes, caves, springs, trees, and so forth. (See additional Note 1, page 308.)

793 Except for the old *pemangku*, the keeper and officiating priest of the temple, who can be seen there occasionally sweeping the yard, the temples are ordinarily deserted because the Balinese go into them only for public gatherings, festivals, and meetings. *Pemangkus* are simple people of the common class with old-fashioned manners, polite, good-natured, and with a charming modesty, who live near the temple and perform all of its duties, from sweeping it to invoking and impersonating the deities. The haughty Brahmanic priests, the *pedandas*, refer to them contemptuously as *djero sapúh*, "sweepers," but the *pemangkus* are the really active priests of the people's ritual and alone officiate at temple feasts, when the *pedandas* do not take an active part. Furthermore there are villages where the *pedandas* are even barred from the temple.

The office of the *pemangku* is often hereditary, but he may also be chosen by some mystic while inspired by the spirits. He
[292] dresses in all-white clothes with a characteristic coat with tight sleeves and wears his head-cloth in the old-style high crest. *Pemangkus* lead a normal routine life without great religious restrictions, attending to their personal affairs until the date for

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

ADDITIONAL NOTES

346 1. *Balinese Temples.* Perhaps the aboriginal form of Balinese temple was a square of consecrated ground in which were erected sacrificial altars, piles of stones, surrounded by a rough stone fence. Temples of this sort are still to be found in Tenganan and Sembiran, two villages that preserve much of the ancient religion. There are temples along the coast in the vicinity of Sanur reminiscent of these primitive temples, like the one on the beach of Sindú that consists of rough pieces of coral in shapeless piles, with a number of primitive statues as the sole decoration. The owners afterwards added shrines of dressed stone; then lately, to be modern, they built altars of cement, resulting in what looks like an object lesson in the progress and evolution of Balinese temple architecture.

171 There is a strong Polynesian flavour in these primitive temples. Ralph
346 Linton (*Ethnology of Polynesia and Micronesia*, The Field Museum, Chicago) says: "In the Cook groups the temples were usually stone enclosures or platforms often without houses. . . . In the Society group . . . they were low walled enclosures with a platform or pyramid at one end. . . . In the Marquesas there were two sorts of temples, the public ones . . . and the mortuary stone platforms which bore houses . . . that had excessively high roofs so that the early writers often refer to them as obelisks. In Hawaii . . . the most important temples were stone walled enclosures containing a number of houses for the priests and images. . . . None of the images or objects symbolizing the gods seem to have been considered divine in themselves. They were simple bodies which the gods could occupy at will." These striking similarities between the Balinese and Polynesian religious spirits extend into the cult, into the social organization, and even into the physical type of the Balinese.

184 The Bali Aga, who were never subjected to the political and religious
346 influence of the Javanese lords, build great austere temples with peculiar features such as the little bridge (*titi gonggang*), a stone placed over a hole directly in front of the temple gate, over which can pass only the "pure" — the gods and the virgin boys and girls of the village. Interesting also are the divisions of the Bali Aga communities: first into two
[621] great groups, right and left, each with its priests; then into four separate groups that meet in representative halls built in the temple: the married men who sit in council at the *balé agung*; the married women who sit in the *balé loh*; and the adolescent boys and girls with their special clubhouses, the *balé truna* and the *balé daha*. In Bali Aga villages the *balé agung* is still the heart of the political and religious life of the community

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

musicians, and even squirrel-chasers, to the great agricultural, fishing, village, and ward associations that control the internal government of the communities. Every one of their activities is managed, not individually, but communally, with every active member having a vote and a voice in every enterprise. Naturally, individualism did not develop in the strict communalistic society; individual names are hardly ever used and they call one another "brother," "father," "teacher," or "grandfather." All art is anonymous and only recently have painters begun to sign their works, owing entirely to the influence of Europeans. This, however, did not kill individuality of expression; it is easy to detect the authorship of a certain painting or a sculpture if one is familiar with the author's work, every notable actor or dancer has his own unmistakable way of performing standard dances or improvising lines for a play, and no two orchestras play alike.

In the larger towns and in the districts where the princes held sway, landownership became more individualistic, but elsewhere the right of landed property is not recognized as absolute and an undesirable member of the community cannot hold property given to him or to his ancestors against the will of the village council. A landowner cannot sell his property within the jurisdiction of the village without authorization from the council and it can be confiscated if he misuses it or if he abuses his privileges.

Instead of the familiar exploitation, enslavement, and economic inequality imposed on the population by a ruling class of aristocrats or bureaucrats so often found in countries where the government is centralized in individuals, in Bali we find an economically independent majority that is truly democratic because every representative villager, regardless of his caste or his wealth, is an active member of the village council with an equal voice in village affairs and with equal duties to perform. The government of the villages remained impersonal and with a minimum evidence of even its existence, because power was equally divided among the members of the various councils, and the executive officials, such as *kliangs*, council heads, treasurers, and so forth,

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

621 officiated as a duty to the community and without reward. If to the inherent spirit of co-operation and high ethical standards [464] of the Balinese we add their model institutions, we may find the explanation in the fact that the Balinese never actually became wage-earners, and even now coolie labour for hire remains unimportant. Despite their poverty the Balinese are freer and live better than do most natives under colonial rule.

177 However, the contact of Balinese culture, first with the feudal princes and lately with our civilization in the form of trade, unsuitable education, tourists, and now missionaries, has made a deep dent in the simple and logical life of the Balinese. The changes are taking place so rapidly that they were strikingly evident even after a two years' absence, the time elapsed between our first and second visits to the island. Fine roads and new necessities are encouraging the consumption of foreign commodities such as imported cloth, motor-cars, and gasoline, and the islanders will learn to desire more and more the "advantages of civilization," thus creating a gigantic exodus of the island's wealth. The Balinese have lived well under a self-sufficient co-operative system, the foundation of which is reciprocal assistance, with money used only as a secondary commodity. Being extremely limited in means to obtain the cash – scarcer every day – necessary to pay taxes and satisfy new needs, it is to be [182] feared that the gradual breaking down of their institutions, together with the drain on their national wealth, will make coolies, thieves, beggars, and prostitutes of the proud and honourable Balinese of this generation, and will, in the long run, bring a social and economic catastrophe.

000 Unfortunate as this is, the power of our civilization to penetrate can no longer be ignored. It would be futile to recommend measures to prevent the relentless march of Westernization; tourists cannot be kept out, the needs of trade will not be restricted for sentimental reasons, and missionary societies are often powerful. To advocate the unconditional preservation of their picturesque culture in the midst of modern civilization would be

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

center in the island of Celebes, setting up the Balinese prince, Tjokorda Soekawati, at its head and giving him the most skillful and highly trained administrative advisers as assistants. Under this system the complex society of Bali continues to function more or less unchanged, the village autonomy is maintained, the customary law carries through from the past.

Land Ownership. The basic unit of Balinese society, the village unit, has a number of forms, each of which may be referred to a period of history at which, we assume, the form as we find it today was common. The village communities fall into three main types.[2]

1. The old style villages, known as *Bali Aga* villages, show to a greater or less extent Old Indonesian patterns of social organization. Here there is no caste. Generally there is a dual organization, headed by old men. Arrangements for superannuation are provided for in the *adat* (customary law). These villages, comparatively small, follow the pattern most usual for a community of any size or type in Bali: a central compact village divided into individual house courts, and beyond the village outlying fields which are worked by the individual families.

2. In other village communities one or more of the three upper castes are represented, while the majority of the population is casteless. The proportion may run 2 or 3 per cent people with caste to 98 or 97 per cent casteless, or it may be as much as 20 or 30 per cent composed of high caste families, with correspondingly fewer of the ordinary, casteless Balinese making up the total. The ranking village members may be of Brahmana, Satrya, or Vesya caste. The casteless refer to themselves as *Anak Bali* (Balinese people) and as "followers" or "subjects" of the dominant families.

3. Towns are made up of people of caste, the casteless, and foreigners. Generally a town is the capital of the district, seat of the regional government and the palace of the local prince. It is distinguished from the usual village by a street of foreign owned shops and a larger, better supplied market.

It is customary to subdivide communities of all three of these types into *bandjars*, equivalent to wards in American cities or to the Mexican *barrios*. These *bandjars* are spatial divisions, each with a character and a name of its own. They are held together rather loosely as to social organization but linked with many kinship ties, religious ties (being members of the same village temple, for example) and very often by dramatic, dancing, and

[2] For a discussion of the importance of the village community in the whole Indonesian area see *Adat Law in Indonesia* by B. ter Haar edited with an introduction by E. Adamson Hoebel and A. Arthur Schiller.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

music clubs formed by the villagers. Roughly speaking, the larger the village or town, the greater the strength of the *bandjar* unit as a collective unit; and the smaller the village or town, the stronger the village or community unit (*desa* or *kota*) of which the relatively small number of *bandjars* make up the constituent parts. To give a more concrete instance, in a village of 1000, of which 500 belong to one *bandjar* and 500 to another, it is the village unit which is of primary importance and the *bandjar* unit of secondary importance. In a city of 10,000, which may be subdivided into twenty odd *bandjars*, it is the *bandjar* unit which functions cooperatively, whose members act together.

In such groups, artistic skill and ability override caste divisions. Leadership is shunned in favor of a more equalitarian regime. Satrya prince and Brahmana priest take part as equals with the rest of the village group in staging performances, rehearsing new plays or new musical compositions. Their official functions are, in these situations, laid aside.

Village groups can and do act as a unit, sharing responsibility. In one instance which I witnessed a village group had apprehended a stranger, an escaped criminal for whom an alarm had been sent out. When the man resisted, the villagers, whether wittingly or unwittingly, killed him, and every man of the village struck this stranger a blow so that when the authorities came to investigate all would be guilty together, or none.

The "head" of a village group is often merely an intermediary who represents the village to the higher authority, which may be regarded by the people as either the feudal authority of the caste system or that of some alternative system. For administrative purposes the regional divisions have not changed; the ancient kingdoms were perpetuated under Dutch rule as districts, and, after the period of the Japanese occupation, they remain the same.

In the village unit, as in the larger administrative units, there is a tendency to regard the "headship" as hereditary, and a man who has been *kapala kampoeng* (Malay, head of compound) or *prebekel* (village official) is often succeeded by his son or a younger brother, not because the office is something to be desired but because the family concerned are assumed to have the "know how" in dealing with the "higher ups." Even in some of the old style villages like Tenganan which preserve many features of Old Indonesian organization, the family of the *prebekel*, without Hinduistic caste, maintains an hereditary authoritarian position in dealing with the outside world, and this, no doubt, has been a strong factor in the preservation of the old ways into modern times.

The most usual pattern of land ownership is, as a result of the strong

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

The most usual pattern of land ownership is, as a result of the strong village organization, or better, village feeling, that of the central compact village divided into individual family house courts with gardens, and beyond the village outlying fields which are also worked by the individual families. The fields are passed down by heredity in the male line but may not be alienated; they may not be bought by a foreigner or even by the member of an adjoining village. When a house court falls empty it is filled by members of the family, and there are almost always sons waiting to get a village site when the old people die off. Only if there is a family line which comes to an end, an exceedingly rare occurrence, do the village site and the portion of the fields worked by the family come up for sale to outsiders. Land so held is called *petjatoe*. Two other types of holding are commonly spoken of, the *tetamian*, "inheritance land," and *labaan*, "temple land." *Tetamian* is the type customarily owned by members of the higher castes; it is generally passed on in the male line, too, but, in contrast to village lands, can be sold or mortgaged. The third sort, *labaan*, is land held in common by members of a temple group for the support of the temple and its priest. Very often these lands do not suffice for the prescribed offerings and the support of the priest (*pemangkoe*), and the deficit has to be made up by the temple members by carefully allotted contributions.

It is commonly said, and the feeling is certainly there, that all the land in Bali belongs to the gods and that a man only is privileged to work the lands during his lifetime, "asking for rice," as the saying is. A new born child is said to have come to "ask for rice," and he is put through the motions of obeisance to the gods, from whose world he is thought of as but recently arrived, in order to obtain their benevolence and goodwill, for himself and his family, in enjoying the fruits of the earth which they graciously allow him.

Religion. Since ancestors are merged with gods, there is no contradiction to the Balinese in the hereditary system of land ownership and the phrasing of it as "belonging to the gods."

Indeed the theme of what is known as ancestor worship is the strongest part of the Balinese religion. It is the basis upon which their version of Hinduism rests. Temples are sacred sites, walled enclosures containing many shrines, and the chief of these is to the Original Ancestor and his Consort (*Sanggah Kemoelan*, Shrine of the Beginning, which, the priest will tell you, is equivalent to Siva). In every house court is a family ancestral shrine, a tiny temple walled off from the rest of the house in its own enclosure, the holiest ground. Villages have as a rule three main temples, the Village Temple, the Temple of Death (sacred to the memory of the Dead Kings), and the Temple of Origin. The Temple of Death (*Poera Dalem*) is

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

of the official Dutch government. This man has himself no place in the village council. But his father, who is now an old man to whom no one pays much attention, was once *kĕbayan*, holding the highest position in his half of the village [1]). According to the village-laws a *kĕbayan* is superannuated when his youngest child is married. He becomes *sayă*, a place of honor without power, and the position of *kĕbayan* is filled by the next highest member of his half of the village council. To the house of the Prĕbĕkĕl came that evening several of the elders from the council — there were things to discuss in the order of the ceremonies to come. In three days' time would begin the *odalan* in the temple, replacing the big *usabă* ceremony which was due on that day, at full moon. The *odalan* [2]) would last two days, and afterwards the gods must go away. They must be carried in procession to the sea or to a holy bathing place, where they would receive their "bath of purification" (*ngĕlungayang* or *mĕlis*). For in the case of the birth of boy and girl twins even the gods are dirtied. So far it had not been decided to which place the procession would go, nor on what day. The Prĕbĕkĕl would have to inform the Punggawă, head of the district, who would report to the Dutch Controleur what was being done in Sukawană. But that night nothing was decided. When the fire began to burn low the visiting elders went away, and the people of the house rolled themselves in their blankets to sleep.

On the morning following the big *mĕrĕyaschitŭ*, we were surprised to find offerings for *mĕcharu* again laid out in

[1]) The villagers are divided into two groups, *tĕngĕn* (right) and *kiwă* (left), into which they are born and remain throughout their life. Each group has its *kĕbayan*.

[2]) The *odalan* is not described because it was a ceremony belonging to the ordinary calendar of festivals in the Purŭ Balé Agung, and had nothing to do with the ceremonies occasioned by the birth of the twins. It is curious, however, to note that the *odalan* took place between the twin ceremonies, that is after the *mĕrĕyaschita* and before the *mĕlis*. In other villages where *mĕlis* was required for the birth of twins, it was arranged to take place before the *odalan*, and the people believed that only after *mĕlis* could an *odalan* be celebrated.

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

A STUDY OF A BALINESE FAMILY

By JANE BELO

INTRODUCTORY

OF a people numbering more than a million, divided into castes, into districts which have felt the varying influences of separate dynasties of rulers, and whose religion and social structure appear in all forms from the ancient Bali-Agă to the orthodox order of the Sivaite and Buddhist Pedandas, one would be bold indeed to attempt a study of *the family*. There are no statistics, and generalizations are almost certain to be, in some sense, false. But it is true that more than ninety percent of the Balinese are Sudra, the fourth and lowest Hindu caste, called in Bali djabă,[1] or outsiders. This is to distinguish them from the Brahmana, Satrya, and Wesya, who claim descent from the Hindu-Javanese invaders of Madjapahit, conquerors of the island in the fourteenth century. These djabă are, then, more "insiders" than outsiders, the real Balinese. They are organized into village groups, the desă, each with its council to which belong all married men who are householders. The desă has its individual adat (customary law), functioning quite apart from the laws laid down by the radjas of the past or the present Dutch administration. The village has a sub-organization into two or more bandjars, spatial divisions, each with its own meeting place for the men. The bandjars may once have been divisions of family groups, but now they resemble clubs, which rival each other in gamelan and theatrical performances, whose young men nourish a feud, and whose children dare not cross the invisible line which limits their own bandjar, lest they be set upon by "the other gang." Religion to the djabă means the regular giving of offerings to the spirit of his ancestors, in his own sanggah or household temple; offerings to the gods in the village temples, under the tutelage of the Pemangkoe, a priest also of djabă caste; propitiation of demons and bad spirits, on the roadside before the house,

[1] Throughout this paper I have used the Dutch phonetic spelling for Balinese terms. This is the spelling in current use in Bali, taught in the schools.

dj	is pronounced as j in jam	(djabă)
j	is pronounced as y in yam	(wajan)
nj	is pronounced as ny in canyon	(njoman)
tj	is pronounced as ch in chew	(tjenik)
oe	is pronounced as oo in moon or u in put	(doestă, ketoet)
e	is short unless accented, as in French	(ketoet, madé, metèn)
i	is pronounced as ee in deep	(bibi)
	or as i in tick	(tjenik)
a	is pronounced as in father	(djabă)
final ă	is pronounced as the final a in America	(djabă)

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

Form and Variation in Balinese Village Structure

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AS ALL things Balinese, Balinese villages are peculiar, complicated, and extraordinarily diverse. There is no simple uniformity of social structure to be found over the whole of the small, crowded countryside, no straightforward form of village organization easily pictured in terms of single typological construction, no "average" village, a description of which may well stand for the whole. Rather, there is a set of marvelously complex social systems, no one of which is quite like any other, no one of which fails to show some marked peculiarity of form. Even contiguous villages may be quite differently organized; formal elements—such as caste or kinship—of central importance in one village may be of marginal significance in another; and each of the twenty-five or so villages sampled in the Tabanan and Klungkung regions of south Bali in 1957—a total area of only some 450 square miles—showed important structural features in some sense idiosyncratic with respect to the others.[1] Neither simplicity nor uniformity are Balinese virtues.

Yet all these small-scale social systems are clearly of a family. They represent variations, however intricate, on a common set of organizational themes, so that what is constant in Balinese village structure is the set of components out of which it is constructed, not the structure itself. These components are in themselves discrete, more or less independent of one another: the Balinese village is in no sense a corporate territorial unit coordinating all aspects of life in terms of residence and land ownership, as peasant villages have commonly been described, but it is rather a compound of social structures, each based on a different principle of social affiliation and adjusted to one another only insofar as seems essential. It is this multiple, composite nature of Balinese village structure which makes possible its high degree of variation while maintaining a general formal type, for the play between the several discrete structural forms is great enough to allow a wide range of choice as to the mode of their integration with one another in any particular instance. Like so many organic compounds composed of the same molecules arranged in different configurations, Balinese villages display a wide variation in structure on the basis of a set of invariant fundamental ingredients.

Perhaps the best systematic formulation of this type of village structure is to conceptualize it in terms of the intersection of theoretically separable planes of social organization. Each such plane consists of a set of social institutions based on a wholly different principle of affiliation, a different manner of grouping individuals or keeping them apart. In any particular village all important planes will be present, but the way in which they are adjusted to one another, the way in which they intersect, will differ, for there is no clear princi-

[1] [See pp. 1011-1012, category 991 116, for footnotes.—Analyst]

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

ple in terms of which this intersection must be formed. The analysis of village structure therefore consists in first discriminating the organizational planes of significance and then describing the manner in which, in actual fact, they intersect.

In Bali, seven such planes are of major significance, based on: (1) shared obligation to worship at a given temple, (2) common residence, (3) ownership of rice land lying within a single watershed, (4) commonality of ascribed social status or caste, (5) consanguineal and affinal kinship ties, (6) common membership in one or another "voluntary" organization, and (7) common legal subordination to a single government administrative official. In the following paper, I will first analyze each of these planes of organization, then describe three villages as examples of differing modes of intersection of these planes, and finally offer a discussion of some of the theoretical implications of this type of village organization.

PLANES OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

1. *Shared obligation to worship at a given temple.* Bali is a land of temples. One sees them everywhere—under the village banyan tree, in the midst of rice fields, by waterfalls, in the centers of large towns, by a graveyard, at the sea edge, on a lake island, in every houseyard, at the mountain top—everywhere; of all sizes and in all conditions of repair; all or most showing the traditional form: the high brick walls, the intricately carved split gate, the tall pagoda-like altars with their storeyed thatched roofs.[2] And there are no ruins in Bali: to each of these thousands of temples there is attached both an hereditary priest and a definite congregation of worshipers obligated to perform detailed ritual activities within its walls at fixed intervals, most commonly every six months. Such a congregation is said to *ngungsung* the temple—literally to carry it on its head, as women carry nearly everything in Bali, including the elaborate offerings they bring to the temples on festival days.[3] Every family in Bali, unless it be Christian or Moslem, carries at least a half dozen temples called *pura* on its head.

Of the great variety of pura, by far the most important to the Balinese are the *Kahyangan-Tiga*. Kahyangan is an honorific word for temple (meaning literally "place of the gods"), indicating a pura of unusual importance, and *tiga* means three—thus, "the three great temples." There are probably over a thousand sets of such temples in Bali, with membership ranging from fifty up to several thousand families; the three temples concerned in any particular locality are the *Pura Puseh*, or origin temple, theoretically the temple built at the time of the first settlement of the area; the *Pura Dalam*, or graveyard temple for the spirits of the local dead; and the *Pura Balai Agung*, or "great council temple" (of the gods), dedicated primarily to maintaining the fertility of the surrounding rice fields. At the first two of these temples festivals are held once in every 210-day Balinese year, at the third once in a lunar year, the specific days depending upon the tradition of the individual temples. At such festival times the gods are conceived to descend from heaven, remain for three

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

days, and then return to their home, and the congregation is obligated to entertain them during the time of their stay by means of complex offerings, elaborate rituals, and skillful artistic performances under the general direction of the temple priest and the secular head of the temple. The cost of the festivals, the rather large amounts of labor involved, and the general upkeep of the temples falls on each member of the congregation equally, and this group is typically organized in some fairly complicated manner to achieve these ends.

As mentioned, Kahyangan-Tiga membership is defined territorially, each Balinese belonging to just one of the sets. Nevertheless, one cannot say, as have most scholars, that he belongs to the temple of his "village," and thus that Kahyangan-Tiga can be translated "the three village temples," because only in the limiting case are the boundaries of the basic territorial political unit, here called the hamlet, and of the Kahyangan-Tiga congregation coterminous; in most instances, the religious and political units are not coordinate but cross-cut one another. Whatever the Balinese village may or may not be, it is not simply definable as all people worshiping at one set of Kahyangan-Tiga, because people so obligated to worship commonly form a group for no other social function—political, economic, familiar, or whatever. The congregation of the Kahyangan-Tiga is, in essence, a specifically religious body; in most cases it comes together only at the obligatory temple festivals.[4] Thus, the oft-repeated and much-loved rites at these temples serve to form one crucial bond among rural Balinese of a generally territorial sort, but this bond balances off against other bonds formed in terms of more concretely social activities rather than, as is typical of religious ties, directly reinforcing them.

Besides the Kahyangan-Tiga there are dozens of other types of temples, with different bases in terms of which their congregations are formed: there are ricefield temples, at which worship the men who own land within a particular irrigation society; there are kinship temples, supported by members of a single patriline; there are caste temples where only people with a given rank worship; there are associational temples formed on a voluntary companionate basis, their obligations being inherited by their descendents; there are state temples attended by people subject to a single lord, and so on. Again, some of these correspond to concrete social groups with other, nonreligious purposes, some do not; some are almost inevitably found, some but rarely; some are obligatory for all men, some are voluntary. Thus, by plotting temple types in a locality, one plots the general shape of the local social structure but not its specific outlines. The temple system of the Balinese countryside forms a relatively fixed stone and wood mold in terms of which rural social organization expresses itself, and the semi-annual festivals in each temple dramatize the sorts of ties out of which Balinese peasants build their collective life. But it does not stamp that life into any simple or unvarying form, for within the general mold the possibilities for variations in stress, combination, and adjustment of social elements seem almost limitless.

2. *Common Residence.* As most Indonesians, Balinese live in a clustered settlement pattern, their walled-in house-compounds jammed against each

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

other in an almost urban fashion so as to conserve rice-land in the face of tremendously dense and growing population.[5] Within such clusters the basic territorial political unit is the hamlet, or *bandjar*. Bandjar, which may or may not be spatially isolated, depending upon the size of the settlement, contain anywhere from a dozen to several hundred nuclear families, averaging perhaps about eighty or ninety. In most parts of Bali, the bandjar may be rather simply defined as all those people subject to the decisions taken in one hamlet meeting house, or *balé bandjar*. Bandjar meetings of all male household heads are usually held in this balé once in a 35-day Balinese month, at which time all important policy decisions for the hamlet as a corporate unit are made, mainly by means of a "sense of the meeting" universal agreement process. As the temple is the focus of the religious community, so the meeting house—a wall-less, peaked-roof, Polynesian-looking structure usually located in the center of the hamlet—is the focus of the political community.[6]

To the bandjar are allocated the sort of general governmental and legal functions common to peasant communities in most parts of the world. It is responsible for local security, for the legitimation of marriage and divorce and the settlement of inheritance disputes, and for the maintenance of public works such as rural roads, the meeting house, and the local market sheds and cockpit. Commonly it will own a gamelan orchestra and perhaps dancing costumes and masks as well. As in many, but not all parts of Bali, house-land is corporately owned by the bandjar as a whole, the hamlet also may regulate the distribution of dwelling places, and so control immigration. For serious crimes it may even expel members, confiscating their house-land and denying them all local political rights—for the Balinese the severest of social sanctions.

The hamlet also has significant tax powers. It may fine people for infractions of local custom, can demand contributions for public entertainments, repairs to civic structures, or social welfare activities more or less at will; and can exercise the right to harvest all rice land owned by bandjar members—the members as a whole acting as the harvesters—for a customary share of the product. Consequently, most bandjar have sizeable treasuries and may even own rice land, purchased out of income, the proceeds of which are also directed to public purposes. Nowadays, a few bandjar even own trucks or buses, others help finance local schools, yet others erect cooperative coffee shops.

Finally, the bandjar also acts as a communal work group for certain ritual purposes, especially for cremations, which, along with temple festivals, are still the most important ceremonies in Bali, although their size and frequency have been reduced somewhat in the years since the war. When an individual family decides to cremate, all members of the bandjar are obligated to make customary contributions in kind and to work preparing the offerings, food, and paraphernalia demanded for as long as a month in advance. Similar cooperation, but of lesser degree, is often enjoined for other rites of passage, such as tooth filing, marriage, and death. The bandjar is thus at once a legal, fiscal, and ceremonial unit, providing perhaps the most intensely valued framework for peasant solidarity.

The heads of the hamlet are called *klian*, literally "elder." In some bandjar

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

there is but one, most often two or three. Sometimes there are as many as four or five, usually reflecting either a large bandjar or one sharply segmented into strong kin or other subgroups, in which all important cross-cutting minorities must be given a role in bandjar leadership. Nowadays klian are usually elected for five years and then replaced by a new set, often chosen by the outgoing group with the approval of the bandjar meeting, so as to avoid electioneering. Klian are assisted by various lesser officials, whose jobs are usually rotated monthly among the members of the bandjar. Though the klian lead the discussion at the bandjar meeting, hold the public treasury, direct communal work, and commonly are men of some weight in the local community they are not possessed of much formal authority. In line with the general Balinese tendency to disperse power very thinly, to dislike and distrust people who project themselves above the group as a whole, and to be very jealous of the rights of the public as a corporate group, the klian are in a very literal sense more servants of the bandjar than its masters, and most of them are extraordinarily cautious about taking any action not previously approved in the hamlet meeting. Klian, who are unpaid and have no special perquisites, feel that their position mainly earns them the right to work harder for the public and be more abused by it; wearily, they compare their job to that of a man caring for male ducks: like the drake, the bandjar produces lots of squawks but no eggs.

3. *Ownership of rice land lying within a single watershed.* Unlike peasant societies in most parts of the world, there is in Bali almost no connection between the ownership and management of cultivable land on the one hand and local political (i.e., hamlet) organization on the other. The irrigation society, or *subak*, regulates all matters having to do with the cultivation of wet rice and it is a wholly separate organization from the bandjar. "We have two sorts of custom," say the Balinese, "dry customs for the hamlet, wet ones for the irrigation society."

Subak are organized according to the water system: all individuals owning land which is irrigated from a single water source—a single dam and canal running from dam to fields—belong to a single subak. Subak whose direct water sources are branches of a common larger dam and canal form larger and less tightly knit units, and finally the entire watershed of one river system forms an overall, but even looser, integrative unit. As Balinese land ownership is quite fragmented, a man's holding typically consisting of two or three quarter- or half-acre plots scattered about the countryside, often at some distance from his home, the members of one subak almost never hail from a single hamlet, but from ten or fifteen different ones; while from the point of view of the hamlet, members of a single bandjar will commonly own land in a large number of subak. Thus as the spatial distribution of temples sets the boundaries on Balinese religious organization, and the nucleated settlement pattern forms the physical framework for political organization, so the concrete outline of the Balinese irrigation system of simple stone and clay dams, mud-lined canals and tunnels, and bamboo water dividers provides the context within which Balinese agricultural activities are organized.

Though organizational details and terminology differ widely from region to

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

region, there are elected chiefs—usually called *klian subak*, as opposed to *klian bandjar*—over the subak, while the higher levels of watershed and river system organization are coordinated by appointed officials of the central government as the heirs of the traditional irrigation and tax officials of the old Balinese kingdoms. But, again, it is primarily the subak as a whole which determines in the light of its inherited traditions, its own policies.

The subak is responsible for the maintenance of its irrigation system, a task involving almost continual labor, for the apportionment of water among members of the subak, and for the scheduling of planting. It levies fines for infractions of rules (stealing water, ignoring planting directives, shirking work, and so on), maintains the subak temples and carries out a whole sequence of ritual activities connected with the agricultural cycle, controls fishing, fodder gathering, duck herding and other secondary activities in the subak, and so on and so forth. In most of the larger subak today the actual irrigation work—the constant repair of dams and canals and the perpetual opening and closing of water gates involved in water distribution—is carried out by only a part of the subak membership, called the "water group," which then receives a money payment from those not so working, the amount again being determined by the subak as a whole. Complex patterns of share tenancy, involved systems of controlled crop rotation, varying modes of internal subak organization, and the increasing efforts by the government water officials to improve inter-subak coordination complicate the whole picture. But everywhere the status of the subak as an independent, self-regulating, corporate group with its own rules and its own purposes remains as unchallenged today as it was in the times of the Balinese kings.

4. *Commonality of ascribed social status.* The Balinese, like the Indians from whom they have borrowed (and reformulated) so much, have commonly been described as having a caste system. They do, in the sense that social status is patrilineally inherited, that marriage is fairly strictly regulated in terms of status, and that, save for a few unusual exceptions, mobility between levels within the prestige system is in theory impossible and in practice difficult. But they do not in the sense of possessing a ranked hierarchy of well-defined corporate groups, each with specific and exclusive occupational, social, and religious functions all supported by elaborate patterns of ceremonial avoidance and commensality and by a complex belief system justifying radical status inequality. Were the term "caste" not so deeply ingrained in the literature on Bali, it might be less confusing to speak of the Balinese as having a "title system," for it is in terms of a set of explicit titles, passing from father to child and attached to the individual's name as a term both of address and reference, that prestige is distributed.

Following Indian usage, the Balinese divide themselves into four main groups: Brahmana, Satria, Vesia, and Sudra. Since in such a classification more than 90 per cent of the population falls into the fourth category, a more common division for everyday use is made between *Triwangsa* ("the three peoples"), the first three groups taken as a unit, and the *Sudra*, which in a

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

broad and not altogether consistent way corresponds to the gentry-peasantry distinction common to nonindustrial civilizations generally. Each group is then subdivided further in terms of the title system, the actual basis of the individual's rank in the society. Given a sample list of titles *Ida Bagus, Tjokorda, Dewa, Ngakan, Bagus, I Gusti, Gusti, Gusi, Djero, Gde* any but the most uninformed Balinese could tell you they were placed in a generally descending order of status, but only a small minority of theorists could tell you that the first was a Brahmana title, the next four Satria, the next three Vesia, and the last two Sudra.[8] In making status distinctions a man thinks and talks in terms of titles, not in terms of caste.

In general, a man may marry anyone of the same title or lower, a woman anyone of the same title or higher—thus hypergamy. In pre-Dutch times (i.e., before 1906, for South Bali only came under direct Dutch control at the beginning of this century) miscaste marriages were punished by exile or—particularly in the case of a Triwangsa girl and a Sudra man—death. Even today a girl marrying down is commonly "thrown away" by her family, in the sense that she is no longer recognized as kin and all social intercourse between her and her parents ceases. Under modern conditions such breaches often heal after some years have passed, particularly if the mismatch is not too great; but miscaste marriages are in any case very rare even today.

As the number of Triwangsa is so much less than the number of Sudra, status regulation of marriage means that the patterns of affinal connection tend to work out rather differently for the two groups, in that most Triwangsa marriages are hamlet exogamous, i.e., interlocal, while most Sudra marriages are hamlet endogamous, i.e., intralocal. This contrast lifts the horizontally linked Triwangsa up as a supra-hamlet all-Bali group over the highly localized Sudra; a pattern congruent, of course, with the fact that the Triwangsa almost completely monopolized the interlocal, superordinate political and religious roles of the traditional Balinese state structure, as they do today of the Balinese branch of the Indonesian civil service.

The caste (or title) composition of any given hamlet (or temple group, or irrigation society) varies very widely. In one locality one may find representatives of a wide range of titles in a smooth gradient from the highest to the lowest, in another only very high and very low ones, in a third only middle range or only very high ones, in a fourth nothing but Sudra, and so on. And, as caste is a crucial factor in both political and kinship organization, such differences entail important differences in social structure. Prestige stratification in Bali is a powerful integrative force both on the local and on the island-wide levels.

5. *Consanguineal and affinal kinship ties.* Descent and inheritance are patrilineal in Bali, residence is virilocal, but kinship terminology is classic Hawaiian—i.e., wholly bilateral and generational. The major exception to patri-descent and residence is that a man who has no sons may marry a daughter uxorilocally and designate her as his heir; her husband abandons his rights

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

591 611 428 in his own patriline, as a woman does at marriage in the normal case, and moves to his wife's home to live. As this almost always occurs in cases where male heirs are lacking, Balinese genealogies show a noticeable ambilineal element, in that a certain percentage of the ties are traced through women rather than men.

592 The basic residential unit is the *pekarangan* or walled house compound, which in kinship terms may house groups which range from a simple nuclear family up to a three or more generation extended patri-family. Typically two or three nuclear families, often with various unattached or aged patri-relatives, occupy a single pekarangan, but occasionally compounds with as many as ten or fifteen families, related through a common paternal grandfather may be found, particularly among the upper caste groups. In addition to being a residential unit, the compound is a very important religious unit, for each compound group supports a small temple in the northeast corner of the yard dedicated to its direct ancestors at which twice yearly ceremonials must be given. Finally, the compound is usually divided into kitchens, called *kuren*, typically one nuclear family to a kitchen, but sometimes two or three, and it is this kitchen group which is the basic kin unit from the point of view of all superordinate social institutions: it is the kuren which is taxed for the Kahyangan-Tiga temples, which is allotted a seat in the meeting house, which must send a worker to repair the dam or participate in the harvest, which is the rice-field owning unit, and so on.

[346] [769]

614 621 Above the compound and the kitchen one commonly finds, within any given hamlet, from one to ten or so (largely but not entirely) endogamous corporate kin groups called *dadia*.[9] Such dadia are basically ritual units, but they may also act as collective work groups for various social and economic tasks, may provide the main framework for informal social intercourse outside the immediate family for its members, may serve as an undivided unit in the local stratification hierarchy, and may form a well-integrated faction within the general hamlet political system. The degree to which it takes on these general social functions differs rather widely from village to village. In some villages dadia organization is the central focus of social life, the axis around which it revolves; in others it is of relatively secondary importance; and in a few villages, especially semi-urbanized ones, dadia may not exist at all.

Rarely is the whole hamlet population organized into dadia, and sometimes only a definite minority will be. This is so because of the manner in which dadia are formed. When a family line begins to grow in size, wealth, and local political power, it begins to feel, as a consequence of what is probably the central Balinese social value, status pride, a necessity for a more intensified public expression of what it takes to be its increased importance within the hamlet. At this point the various households which compose the line will join together under a chief elected from among them to build themselves a larger ancestral temple. This temple will usually be built on public, hamlet-owned land, rather than within the confines of one of the houseyards, thus symbolizing the fact

[181]

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

that the line has come to be of consequence in the jural-political domain as well as in the domestic. The semi-annual ancestor worship ceremonies the group carries out now become more elaborate, stimulated, as is the building and (as the group continues to grow in power, size, and wealth) periodic renovation of the temple itself, by status rivalry with other local dadia.

Often within the large dadia, subgroups have differentiated and become corporate groups in their own right. These sub-dadia (the Balinese refer to them by a variety of terms) are composed of members of the dadia who know or feel themselves rather more closely related to one another than to the other members of the dadia. Even when there are sub-dadia, not all members of the dadia will necessarily belong to one of them. Sometimes a majority will remain free-floating dadia members and will have no sub-dadia ties at all. In one large dadia, for example, there were five sub-dadia accounting for sixty of the eighty or so kitchens in the dadia, the other twenty having no sub-dadia membership. It is the dadia, not the sub-dadia, which is the fundamental group, though the latter also often takes on important social functions.

As noted, the particular functions allocated to kin groups varies from place to place and the integration of these groups with each other and with the other social institutions becomes complex. Also, the number and relative size of kin groups in a given hamlet makes a notable difference in how both the kin groups themselves and the hamlet function. A hamlet with, say, one large dadia and four small ones, will differ in both organization and operation from one with three medium large ones plus one or two small ones, or with five or six of roughly equal size. Such issues cannot be pursued here, but it should be clear that kinship, rather than shrinking to a concern with primarily "familial" matters as tends to occur in many peasant societies, remains in Bali an important organizing force in the society generally, albeit but one among many such forces.

6. *Common membership in one or another voluntary organization.* The Balinese term for any organized group is *seka;* literally, "to be as one." Thus the group of hamlet people is called the *seka bandjar*, the irrigation group is called the *seka subak*, and there are *seka dadia*, *seka pura*, and so on. But beyond these formal, more or less obligatory groups, there are thousands of completely voluntary organizations dedicated to one or another specific purpose, which are just called seka. These cross-cut all other structural categories and are based wholly on the specific functional ends to which they are directed.

There are seka for housebuilding, for various kinds of agricultural work, for transporting goods to market, for music, dance, and drama performances, for weaving mats, moulding pottery, or making bricks, for singing and interpreting Balinese poetry, for erecting and maintaining a temple at a given waterfall or a particular sacred grove, for buying and selling food, textiles or cigarettes, and for literally dozens of other tasks. Many bandjars have seka for such highly specific purposes as hunting coconut squirrels or building simple ferris wheels for holiday celebrations. Such voluntary seka may have a half dozen or a hundred members, they may last for several weeks or for years, the

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

575 sons inheriting the fathers' memberships. Some of them build up quite sizeable treasuries and profits to divide among the members, some have yearly feasts of celebration, others even lend their earnings at interest.

[181] As seka loyalty is a major value in Balinese culture, these voluntary groups are not just peripheral organizations but a basic part of Balinese social life. Almost every Balinese belongs to three or four private seka of this sort, and the alliances formed in them balance off those formed in the more formally organized sectors of Balinese social structure in the complex cross-cutting social integration characteristic of the island. From one point of view, all of Balinese social organization can be seen as a set of formal and voluntary seka intersecting with one another in diverse ways.

7. *Common legal subordination to a single government administrative official.* 634 In addition to hamlet, irrigation society, and Kahyangan-Tiga temple organ- 631 ization, there is another sort of territorial unit at the rural level which stems ● 621 from the organization of the Indonesian governmental bureaucracy as it reaches down into the Balinese countryside. This is the *perbekelan*, so called because it is headed by an official called a *Perbekel*. Before the Revolution the Perbekel was appointed by his Colonial superiors; since it, he is elected by his constituency. He still serves until either he retires or a movement to unseat him develops. He is always a local man, in most cases set apart from his neighbors [554] only in having somewhat more education (although in line with the traditions of Balinese statecraft, higher titled people tend to be preferred for the role). He has under him anywhere from two to a half dozen *Pengliman*, also local men, also elected, each with his own bailiwick within the perbekelan. Both Perbekel and Pengliman are paid, but not very well, by the Government according to the number of kitchens in their domain. As it is through them that the policy directives, propaganda exhortations, and social welfare activities of the Djakarta political elite filter down to the mass of the peasantry and from them that reports on local conditions start back up, they form a kind of rural civil service, a miniature administrative bureaucracy constructed out of local elements.

As might be expected, the arbitrarily drawn boundaries of perbekelan do not, save in the odd case, coincide with any other unit in Balinese society, past or present; rather, they group from four to ten hamlets into what seemed to logical, efficient Dutch administrators to be logical, efficient administrative [628] units. The result is that the hamlets involved not only may have no traditional ties with one another but may even be traditionally antagonistic, while other hamlets of long and continuing association may be separated by perbekelan boundaries. The Perbekel is thus placed in a rather anomalous position for, although his superiors tend to regard him as a "village chief" and expect him to have important traditionally based executive powers, his constituents tend to regard him as a government clerk and consequently not directly concerned with local political processes at all, the direction of which they conceive to lie in the interlocked hands of the temple, hamlet, irrigation society, kin group, and voluntary organization chiefs. The Perbekel is not governing an organic unit, but one which in most cases feels rather little internal solidarity at all and,

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

though he may have some traditional status in the particular hamlet within the perbekelan of which he himself happens to be a member, he is unlikely to have much in the others.

As the Indonesian state increases its activities in an attempt to bring the country into the modern world, the Perbekel both becomes more and more important and feels more and more keenly the uncertain nature of his position. The degree to which he is able to assert his role, to secure his dominance over traditional leadership in matters concerning the national state, and to make a true political unit of the perbekelan varies with several factors: whether or not he is energetic and intelligent, whether or not he is the descendent of a traditional local ruling family, whether or not his perbekelan happens to include hamlets having long-term bonds with one another, whether or not there are a number of young, educated men who will support and encourage his "modernization" efforts, and so on. As with the other planes described, the role of the *perbekelan* unit in rural Balinese social structure is not describable in terms of any static typological construct, but can only be seen as ranging over a certain set of organizational possibilities.

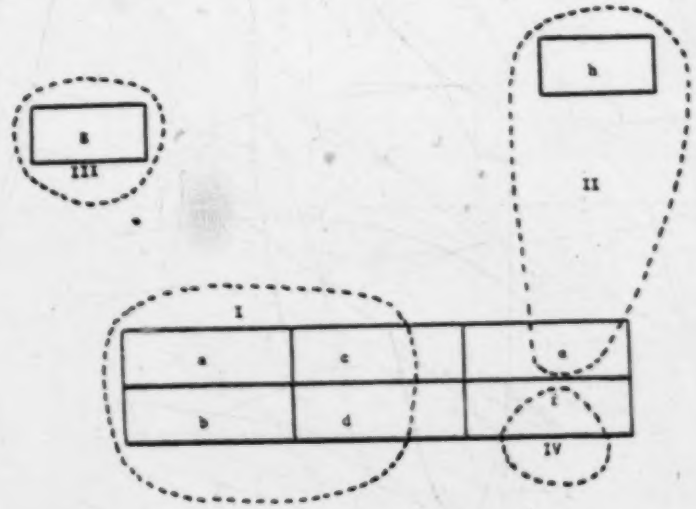
THREE BALINESE VILLAGES

Thus far in the analysis of Balinese rural social structure the concept "village" has been studiously avoided, mainly because it is used by the Balinese in several mutually contradictory ways. Sometimes "village" (*desa*, a Sanskrit loanword) is used as a synonym for bandjar (the basic rural political unit); sometimes to refer to the Kahyangan-Tiga (temple congregation); sometimes, especially by urbanites and government officials, to the region under a single Perbekel; and, perhaps most commonly, for a vaguely demarcated region in which the planes of organization intersect in such a way that the people living within the region have rather more ties with one another than they do with people in adjacent regions. In this last and rather fuzzy sense, "village" refers to the integrative as opposed to the analytic aspects of rural social structure, and it is in this sense that the term will be used here. A village is not a hamlet, a temple group, or a perbekelan, but a concrete example of the intersection of the various planes of social organization in a given, only broadly delimited locality.

1. *Njalian.* In pre-Dutch times the seat of a minor lord and a secondary market center, Njalian lies at the western edge of the former kingdom and present regency of Klungkung, and is one of the more complexly organized villages of Bali. In Njalian virtually nothing is coordinate with anything else and the crisscrossing of loyalties reaches an almost unbelievable degree of intricacy. The perbekelan of Njalian—the present Perbekel is the head of the traditional ruling house, a *Tjokorda* by title—contains the rather large number of about 3,000 kitchens distributed among eight hamlets, six contiguous within one large settlement cluster and two spatially isolated some two or three kilometers away. There are four sets of Kahyangan-Tiga temples. To one set belong the members of four of the contiguous hamlets, to a second set belong

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

those of one hamlet in the main cluster and one of the segregated ones, to a third set belong only the members of the other isolated hamlet, and to the fourth only those of the other hamlet in the major cluster:



The Village of Njalian

a = hamlets I = Kahyangan-Tiga sets

Even this rather involved diagram greatly oversimplifies the situation. In the first place, many people living in the territory of one hamlet are legally members of another. Further, the coordination of the temple sets with the hamlet boundaries is very recent, being instituted over strong opposition by the present Perbekel in 1950, and still very imperfect. Before the change, a man belonging to hamlet "a" would often belong to temple set IV, or a man in "c" to set I, and so on, and to some extent this still occurs, for traditional allegiances are difficult to reorganize by administrative fiat. Still further, the four bandjar in temple set I—"a", "b", "c", and "d"— are not really territorial at all; though the meeting houses involved are distributed as shown, members of the hamlets attached to them are randomly interspersed through the whole a-b-c-d area. This sort of nonterritorial hamlet organization is actually frequent in Bali and was ignored above for purposes of descriptive simplicity. Finally, in Njalian the unit cooperating at a cremation—called a *paus* —is not coincident with the hamlet as it is in most other places. Instead, hamlet "a" is divided into two such collective work groups for cremations, "b"

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

forms but one patus, "c" two, and so on. Thus a man may well have his hamlet alliance in one place (not even necessarily where he lives), his temple ties in a second, and his cremation obligations in yet a third, though of course in a majority of cases some of these affiliations may be merged.

Since Njalian contains representatives of a wide range of caste titles, the interaction of the status hierarchy with the hamlet and temple systems adds yet another dimension of complexity. Hamlet "a" consists entirely of Brahmana and higher Satria people, including the ruling family, but some lesser Triwangsa belong to "b," "c", "d", and "e", mixed in among the Sudra. Hamlets "f", "g", and "h" are wholly Sudra, with "f" consisting of but a single dadia kin group, a rather uncommon occurrence. Caste affects temple organization too. In temple set I the death temple was until two years ago divided by a low wall; the Sudra organized their festival separately and held it on one side of the wall, the Triwangsa held theirs on the other. But this has been changed for reasons of economy and democracy, and now all worship together. Voluntary organizations, of which there are literally dozens, irrigation societies, two main ones being involved in this area, and some thirty or forty kin groups also complicate social relationships, though kinship is evidently less important here as an organizing force than in many other villages.

In such an admittedly extreme case of cross-cutting social groupings, the problem of integration, of mutual adjustments among the groups, is a very pressing one. At times open fights have broken out between leaders of various groups over the question of who had prior rights on the services of members common to them. Heavy concurrent demands often mean that work is only hastily done; when the slit gong is beaten to call together members of a given group, many people fail to appear because they either were too far away to hear the gong or thought that it was being sounded for another group to which they were not obligated. To rationalize this situation the Perbekel has instituted a monthly meeting of all important group leaders—fifty people or so—in which he tries valiantly to get them to coordinate their several efforts. He has also attempted to territorialize the system more by making hamlet and temple membership dependent on residence but, though he has had a little success in this direction, most of his efforts have been resisted by the villagers who, he claims, prefer things to be complicated. Despite the fact that he is the traditional ruler of the area, that he has been Perbekel for thirty years, and that he now has the whole Indonesian State behind him, he says that there is really very little he can do in reforming village institutions. People bow and act subservient, but they do just as they wish.

2. *Tihingan.* Although it lies only six miles or so east of Njalian, in the heart of the former kingdom of Klungkung, Tihingan differs from Njalian in most of its important features. Unlike Njalian, Tihingan has never been the seat of a lord, has relatively few Triwangsa and the Perbekel is a Sudra. Unlike Njalian, social affiliations, though complexly organized, are quite systematically integrated rather than randomly crosscutting. And unlike Njalian, there are within the perbekelan three definite spatial clusters of social loyalty to

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

621 634 which the name village can be properly applied, while the perbekelan as a whole forms only the vaguest of social units. The three villages concerned are Pau, Penasan, and Tihingan proper (the seat of the Perbekel which, consequently, lends its name to the entire perbekelan). We shall be concerned here only with Tihingan proper.

Tihingan proper consists of a single hamlet of some 138 kitchens grouped into 85 house-compounds, and there is but one set of Kahyangan-Tiga temples [794] to which all members of the hamlet belong, a rather untypically simple arrangement. There is a Brahmana priest living in the village, and there is a [564] scattering of low-title Satria and Vesia families, but almost 90 percent of the population is Sudra. From the structural point of view, however, the most 621 striking characteristic of Tihingan is neither its territorial pattern nor its status 614 system, but the rather unusual importance of kinship as an organizational force in social life. It is the four dadia, accounting for nearly 80 percent of the village population, which form the axis around which Tihingan village life mainly revolves; and the implications of this simple fact can be traced through all the levels of its social organization. On the religious level, each major dadia [794] owns a very large, handsomely carved temple (in the case of the two largest dadia, even larger and more handsomely carved than the theoretically superordinate Kahyangan-Tiga temples) near the center of the village. The upkeep of this temple and the carrying out of the requisite semi-annual ceremonies within it in suitable style are among the major functions of the dadia, and rivalries in those matters can become quite intense.

At the political level, the distribution of hamlet leadership roles is con- [613] sciously and carefully designed to provide a realistic reflection of the balance of [634] dadia power. There are five klian or chiefs. Four of these are chosen, one from each of the major dadia; the fifth klian at the same time holds the office of Pengliman and is a member of the second largest dadia. Since the Perbekel himself, a man of some weight within Tihingan proper, is a member of the largest dadia, the kin group foundation for local leadership is clear and exact. Further, in supra-village political processes, institutionalized in the party sys- [665] tem of the "New Indonesia," the two largest kin groups are allied as a faction against the next two plus all the families not belonging to a dadia. All of the first group belong to the Socialist party and all of the second to the Nationalist, so that party allegiance is absolutely predictable from kin group membership, and reflects the internal organization of the village rather than personal ideological conviction.

621 614 476 [326] [243] On the economic level, each dadia forms a cooperative work group for the manufacture of Balinese musical instruments—metallaphones, gongs, cymbals, etc.—a smithing craft in which this village is partially specialized; the personnel working in any given forge almost inevitably are members of the same dadia.[19] Further, most tenancy and exchange work patterns in rice field cultivation also follow kin group lines, introducing these alliances into the irrigation society context as well. More informal economic relationships—money lending, patronage, and so on—follow the same pattern.

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

Finally, even informal recreational interaction is shaped by extended kinship ties. It is only rarely that a man will enter the house-compound of a non-kinsman after nightfall when the most intensive gossiping takes place, though he will move freely among the yards of his dadia members. (A somewhat more consistent and literal adherence to the virilocal ideal in Tihingan than is common elsewhere means that house compounds of the same dadia tend to be fairly well clustered within the hamlet.) In cock fighting, a great part of the pattern of alliance and opposition—whose cock fights whose, who bets against whom, — is only explicable in kinship terms. In religion, politics, economics, and informal social interaction, kin group membership therefore has a primacy in Tihingan which, though it is far from representing a universal pattern in Bali, is, like Njalian's lattice-work structure, a realized example of one possibility intrinsic in the intersecting plane type of village organization.

In this type of village organization the dangers of factionalism are obvious and the problem of containing kin group loyalties within the bounds of affiliation in hamlet, irrigation society, temple group, and so on becomes acute. Public activities are often marked by partially concealed kin group antagonisms. For example, when the hereditary priest of the origin and death temples died without an heir ten years ago, the kin groups could not agree on his successor so that responsibility for the ceremonies in these temples now rotates among the priests of the four dadia temples—a highly unsatisfactory and irregular pattern that the people themselves regard as "not quite right, but better than having an open war." At hamlet meetings in the balé the sort of universal agreement necessary to make decisions is difficult to accomplish, so that many proposals are blocked by the opposition of a minority kin group. For example, when the Perbekel tried to convince the hamlet to change funeral customs so as to bury people immediately, even on an unlucky day, rather than keep the corpse in the house for several days (a government-suggested health reform that the neighboring bandjar had adopted with little difficulty) the opposition of the dadia most hostile to the Perbekel's prevented the change from taking place, although the majority of villagers were in favor of it. Antagonisms arising out of marriages and divorces across dadia lines, economic rivalries between the musical instrument manufacturing groups, and competitive prestige displays at dadia temple ceremonies also contributed to the heightening of this sort of intergroup tension.

Yet in general, the village is fairly well integrated and factionalization is usually kept within bounds.[11] In part this is accomplished by the concurrent application of two explicit rules of procedure. The first rule is that whenever a group formed on the basis of one principle of affiliation is allocated a given social function, no other principle of affiliation may receive any recognition whatsoever. Thus if the hamlet is cooperating in some task, the work is never suborganized in terms of kinship, caste, or any other bond. If subgroups are technically necessary, people are grouped in a random manner, each family being regarded as a hamlet member pure and simple, as having no qualitative difference from any other. ("The hamlet knows no kinship," runs a Balinese

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

621 571 476 proverb.) Similarly, when a dadia is working at a temple festival, or whatever, the sub-dadia ties within the dadia are considered to have no reality and do not act as a basis for subgroup differentiation.

The second rule sets forth a hierarchy of precedence in which the needs of the hamlet outrank those of the dadia, those of the dadia outrank those of the sub-dadia, and those of the sub-dadia outrank those of voluntary groups. For example, if the hamlet as a whole wishes to harvest the fields of its members, then it has priority. The whole bandjar must harvest and does so as a group, with no internal differentiation. If the hamlet doesn't wish to harvest—per decision of the hamlet meeting—then the dadia have next rights, unaffiliated families either banding together or yielding their rights to one or another of the dadia. If the dadia also decides not to harvest, then the sub-dadia may; if the sub-dadia have no immediate needs then the task is surrendered to voluntary groups. The combination of these two rules of procedure—one prohibiting multiple bases of affiliation for a single task, one establishing an order of precedence—acts as a major integrative mechanism in this otherwise rather faction-prone village.

621 3. *Blaju.* Unlike Njalian, Blaju is not the name of a perbekelan, and unlike Tihingan, it is not the name of a fairly well defined village unit within a perbekelan. Rather, it is the name for a broadly defined region of about six square [131] miles at the eastern edge of the Regency of Tabanan within which the influence of a particular ruling family was preponderant in the pre-Colonial period and to a great extent continues so today. As such, Blaju forms a minuscule [564] state within a state, and its pattern of organization is characterized primarily by a stress on territoriality and caste (or title) as bases for social affiliation. 621 178 631 Perhaps more than any other area of Bali, Blaju approaches the common stereotype of peasant social structure as being organized in terms of a pyramid of increasingly inclusive territorial units—barrios, villages, subdistricts, districts, and the like—each unit ruled by an attached political official of appropriate status. But, unfortunately for the sort of theory which would like to see [176] in this system a survival of an "original" Balinese pattern from which all else could be adjudged a "deviation," this hierarchical territorialization is a quite recent phenomenon, occurring as a consciously motivated social innovation explicitly designed to intensify social integration.

621 631 The area commonly denominated as Blaju contains four perbekelan, three contiguous, one a kilometer or so to the north. The members of these four perbekelan—about 1500 kitchens—support a common set of Kahyangan-Tiga temples, a rather unusual circumstance, for commonly Kahyangan-Tiga congregations are usually smaller and are less extensive than a perbekelan. Within each of these perbekelan there are four hamlets, and each of these hamlets is further divided into from three to six territorial subunits called *kliran.* A kliran has arbitrarily fixed borders and each adult living within these borders is ipso facto a member of that kliran. It is the kliran, averaging eighteen to twenty kitchens, which performs most of the important day-to-day social functions, and it is the basic cooperative work unit in planting-harvesting, ritual, and the

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

like, having its own independent treasury, rice shed, and meeting place. For larger and more important local tasks the klirans of one hamlet will fuse as a single unit; in the same way hamlets unite within perbekelan for affairs of government, and perbekelan unite within Blaju as a whole to support the Kahyangan-Tiga temples. As the irrigation societies in the Blaju area are small and land holdings are not so scattered, irrigation societies tend to be more or less informally identified with the perbekelan and hamlets closest to them, so that the whole system becomes territorialized through and through.

At the geographical center of this whole territorial complex, facing the market and the main crossroads, lies the "palace" (*puri*) of the ruling family, a walled-in, shabby-genteel complex of houseyards, temples, alleyways, and open courts about a city block square, tightly packed with more than five hundred people comprising a single Vesia-level dadia. The head of this dadia, Anak Agung Ngurah Njoman, is at the same time customary law chief for the whole area of Blaju—i.e., the four perbekelan within the Kahyangan-Tiga set. Though largely an honorary position concerned with giving advice in matters of custom, this apical role symbolizes the continuing dominance of the ruling family in the area. At the perbekelan level, two of the four perberkel are from this family (one of them again being the Anak Agung himself), the other two being ranking Sudra with traditional ties to the "castle."

The role of this elite group is strengthened in many ways. First, unlike many Balinese aristocrats, the Blaju ruling family is not impoverished. About one-fifth of all rice land in the area is still in their hands (though it is owned individually, not collectively, within the dadia), and as almost all this land is sharecropped by Sudra tenants who also have corvée obligations to their landlords, traditional patron-dependent ties remain of central integrative importance. Second, although the members of the ruling dadia live all in one place and so should be members of a single hamlet according to the territorial system, they are by traditional practice distributed among the sixteen bandjar in more or less equalized groups. They are assigned bandjar membership independent of their residence so as to insure a voice (and an ear) for the ruling house in each locality and to strengthen the unity of the whole region. Third, there is in Blaju a major temple, rivaling the Kahyangan-Tiga in importance, which is supported exclusively by all the people in the region who bear Triwangsa, upper-caste titles, thus symbolizing the importance of status and serving to ally all the local high prestige groups with the ruling dadia in its largely successful effort to maintain the traditional stratification system unimpaired.

As noted, this rather neat integration of territorialism and status is not altogether a traditional matter, but stems in part at least from rather recent reforms. The kliran subhamlet pattern, the distinctive element in the whole system, was only instituted in 1940. At this time the hamlet system was very weak, kinship unimportant, and most village functions had fallen into the hands of voluntary seka groups. "People" felt—evidently under prodding from the aristocracy, which began to reassert its leadership at this time—that

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

there were too many such groups, that they made for conflict, for a decrease in valuable public activities, and led to a kind of individualism. "The seka got rich, but the bandjar got poor." Thus all the sixteen hamlets decided at once to institute the kliran system and to ban voluntary organizations for all important functions. And when the Dutch left in 1941 the ruling family further intensified its efforts to strengthen the status system which had also been weakened in the general move toward a less organic society, producing the present pattern of organization. Territorialism in Blaju is thus not a simple survival from the distant past, but the outcome of the interaction between traditional values and the quite untraditional events of the twentieth century.

In such a system integrative strains are likely to appear across caste lines, and despite all the bowing and scraping one sees in Blaju, Sudra resentment against Triwangsa domination is quite evident. When a small Sudra dadia of Sunguhu which traditionally has the right to patronize priests appointed from among its own members rather than Brahmana ones, attempted to institute this system in Blaju a few years ago, they were expelled from their hamlet under intense Triwangsa pressure on the basis of "injuring local custom and denigrating the upper castes." Despite heavy pressures from the central bureaucracy and some local sympathy for the rebels, the Blaju upper castes held firm and the Sunguhu ultimately capitulated. But, irrespective of such strains, Blaju is rather more tightly knit than most Balinese villages: all the 1500 families were members of a single national political party, and one of the few really effective consumer-producer cooperatives in Bali was located in Blaju, its effectiveness being mainly attributable to the fact that it, too, had 100 per cent membership.

SOME THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

Of the many theoretical issues growing out of the analysis of Balinese village organization, among the most interesting are those centering around questions of typology. Typologizing has always been a central concern of social anthropology because both descriptive simplicity and comparative generalization rest on the possibility of summarizing social organizations in terms of constructs at once ethnographically circumstantial and formally distinctive. Whatever their shortcomings from more sophisticated theoretical perspectives, such types as "The Indian Village," "The Chinese State," or "The Nuer Kinship System" (to say nothing of "Peasant Society," or "Segmentary Social Organization," which are perhaps best seen as second-order types of types) seem essential to comparative analysis of even the most rudimentary sort. But the Balinese case, in which this methodologically fundamental task of discriminating wood from trees seems unusually difficult of accomplishment, suggests that some of the assumptions underlying our usual typologizing procedures may be in need of revision. Particularly, and perhaps paradoxically, they suggest that clues to the typologically essential may as often lie in rare or unique phenomena as they do in common or typical ones; that essential form

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

may be seen more adequately in terms of a range of variation than in terms of a fixed pattern from which deviant cases depart. 121

In general, two main approaches to the problem of constructing first order typologies of social organization within a given culture area have been common in anthropology: the "lowest common denominator" approach, and the "representative unit" approach. In the first of these, the procedure is to create a synthetic picture of "Eskimo Life," or "Tale Society," or "Chinese Culture" by taking the various forms found throughout the greater part of the respective culture areas and integrating them so as to provide a generalized account of social structure in an overall sense. Here the anthropologist concentrates on sorting out what is typical from what is not within the entire social field, and the result is a picture which describes directly no actual, given social unit, but which rather summarizes the sort of social form characteristic of the society at whatever point one chooses to look at it. In such a view, variations are interpreted as circumscribed deviations from the general pattern caused by locally acting forces of an ecological, historical, or acculturative nature. This is the older and more popular approach of the two. It is the one usually taken by textbooks and simply descriptive monographs, by such summary volumes as Murdock's *Our Primitive Contemporaries* (1934), and for the most part by the British anthropologists in their African studies.

The "representative unit" approach might also be called the "Middletown" approach, because the procedure is to choose a concrete community—village, town, or tribal settlement—which is at least in a broad way "typical" of the sorts of community found within the culture area. Whether the choice is made on the basis of a systematic social and cultural survey of the whole area or in a more intuitive manner, the attempt is to find a community which forms a useful sample of the broader society, one in which idiosyncratic traits are few relative to those shared with other communities, and one in which most of the patterns deemed basic within the society generally are represented in a "normal" form. This procedure may be refined by choosing several such communities within subcultural areas, as in Steward's Puerto Rico study (Steward et al. 1956), but the methodological strategy is nevertheless the same: to choose a community which is to the greatest possible degree directly representative of more than itself.[12]

Both of these now established procedures yield rather strange results when applied to Bali. The lowest common denominator approach obviously depends on the possibility of finding some fairly simple fundamental patterns —a territorial village, a clan and lineage system, a developed caste structure— which appear over and over again in various parts of the culture area in a broadly similar fashion. But in Bali, though certain patterns are common throughout the whole area the form in which they actually appear differs so widely that any synthetic picture must be drawn in such a generalized fashion as to have little substantial reality of any kind. One could easily enough construct a "Balinese village" with a "typical" temple setup, hamlet organiza- 121 621 184

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

121 tion, kinship system, irrigation society, title distribution, and so on; but such
●621 a composite construct would utterly fail to express the two most fundamental
184 characteristics of Balinese village organization, namely, that these patterns take widely differing forms from village to village, and that their relative importance within any particular village integration varies greatly. For similar reasons, the representative unit approach is also almost certain to be misleading. Are we to take Njalian, Tihingan, or Blaju as typical of Bali? In a direct descriptive sense they are not typical of much beyond themselves; but neither, probably, is any other Balinese village. If we are to discriminate what is really essential and characteristic in Balinese village organization we need to take a somewhat different tack and conceptualize that organization not in terms of invariance in overt structure throughout the whole island, or from place to place within it, but rather in terms of the range of overt structure which it is possible to generate out of a fixed set of elemental components. Form, in this view, is not a fundamental constancy amid distracting and adventitious variation, but rather a set of limits within which variation is contained.

[571] What is common to Njalian, Tihingan, and Blaju, and to Balinese villages generally, is the set of planes of social organization out of which they are built up; it is the fact that they are all constructed, although in different ways, of the same materials which accounts for the strong family resemblance they show despite their great structural diversity. In the actual investigation of Balinese village organization, one of course proceeds in a direction diametrically opposite to the logic of presentation followed in this paper: the planes are derived through an inspection of a series of villages rather than discovered in pure form and then combined to generate villages. As more and more villages are studied it soon becomes clear that a relatively small set of basic elements is involved; after one has discriminated temple units, hamlets, irrigation societies, the title hierarchy, the kinship system, voluntary organizations, and governmental units -- he comes to feel that he is not likely to find a village in which one of these is wholly lacking nor one in which a completely new plane is present.[13] But though the number and type of elements are thus fairly quickly discovered the possible forms they can take and the ways in which they can unite with the other elements are not. Almost every village studied reveals some new organizational potentiality with respect to one or several of the planes, and a new mode of integration. The process of investigating Balinese village organization, in a typological sense, is therefore a process of progressive delimitation of the structural possibilities inherent in a set of fundamental social elements. What one derives is not a typical village in either the lowest common denominator or representative unit sense, but a differentiated and multidimensional social space within which actual Balinese village organizations are necessarily distributed. One discovers more and more what shapes a village can take and still be distinctively Balinese.

Among other things this means that the peculiar, the unique, and the odd take on a rather different significance than in the usual typologizing procedures, for they are seen not as exceptions to a general rule to be accounted for

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

by ad hoc considerations which save the rule, but as providing valuable further clarification of the basic principles of social organization. From Njalian's criss-crossing structure we learn that the various component planes are to a very large degree independent of one another; from Tihingan we learn how the Balinese kinship system works when given full play and how the other planes then adapt to its dominance; from Blaju we learn what increased territorialism and a stress on caste imply for social integration. Each case we confront reveals something new about the implicit potentialities of the typological model we are constructing, sets new bounds on the range of variation possible within it; and it does so mainly not in terms of what is common but rather of what is unusual about it. In the same way that Cromwell has been adjudged the most typical Englishman of his time on the simple basis of his having been the oddest, so the general typological significance of any particular Balinese village lies primarily in its idiosyncracies.

NOTES

[1] The field work upon which this study is based was carried out from August 1957 to July 1958, with a three month break from January to March 1958, under a grant from the social sciences section of the Rockefeller Foundation, administered by the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I am indebted to my research assistant E. Rukasah of the Fakultas Pertanian in Bogor, Indonesia, and to my wife Hildred Geertz for significant contributions to this study. This paper was written during a fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, and I am indebted to many of my colleagues at the Center for their criticism and comments on earlier drafts. For general views of Balinese culture, see Bateson and Mead (1942), Covarrubias (1936) and Korn (1936).

[2] For a more detailed description of Balinese temple forms, see Covarrubias (1936).

[3] A Balinese temple festival is described in detail in Belo (1953).

[4] It is also a legal community in that all the people in a single Kahyangan-Tiga congregation follow the same general rules regarding hamlet membership, marriage, inheritance, cooperative work, etc., rules which differ in detail from Kahyangan-Tiga group to Kahyangan-Tiga group. Sometimes this law community is headed by a Bendesa Adat, or customary law chief, who gives advice and direction on problems of custom. But, again, it is only in the odd case that this customary law community happens to coincide with a concrete political community.

[5] Total Balinese population for 1954 is estimated at 1,500,000, with a mean density around 700 per square mile. In the thickly settled areas of South Bali densities reach up over 1,500 per square mile (Raka 1953).

[6] In the Tabanan area balé are lacking in most hamlets, meetings being held in the open air beneath a banyan tree or in a temple courtyard.

[7] For descriptions of these ceremonies, see Covarrubias (1936).

[8] Only a minority of Sudra, considered to have higher prestige than the mass because of former affinal or political ties to higher status groups, have true address and reference titles. Most Sudra have no address title at all.

[9] In most Balinese villages, marriage is preferentially within the dadia and, if possible, with the father's brother's daughter.

[10] Economic specialization by village still persists to some degree in Bali, and is another factor to be considered in a full analysis of variation in Balinese village structure. It has been ignored here in favor of more formal considerations only for the sake of simplicity.

[11] The only time it has threatened to get completely out of bounds was at the time of the Indonesian general elections in 1955 when each of the two factions went armed in fear of massacre by the other, but no actual violence occurred.

[12] There is a third approach to typologizing, which is particularly prevalent in Dutch studies

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

121 of Bali (Korn 1936), in which a community is chosen for study not so much on the basis of its representativeness in a statistical sense, but rather because it is held to show prototypical forms and patterns in a relatively uncomplicated, direct, and undistorted fashion. Highly traditionalized communities which have been relatively isolated from acculturative contacts are considered to have changed more slowly than other communities and so are favored as providing pictures of underlying social structures which are clouded over by adventitious elements in the more dynamic communities. This approach has tended to lose favor as it has become apparent that it is based on a dubious theory of social change and that the traditionalism of isolated communities is as often interpretable as an adaptation to peculiar environmental circumstances as it is a persistence of earlier and more fundamental patterns.

[9] There is a handful of the so-called *Bali Aga* ("original Balinese") villages whose organization differs markedly from those of the overwhelming majority, having age groups, a gerontocratic political structure, communal land tenure, etc. Though the significance of these villages from an ethnohistorical point of view is an interesting problem, their position within Balinese society generally is marginal in the extreme. For descriptions of such villages, see Bukian (1936), Korn (1933), and Bateson and Mead (1942).

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[96 cont.]

M 582 583 parental [bilateral] or parentage rights system prevails. Nevertheless, the bridegroom still pays a bride price, which here, of course, has nothing of the character of a purchase price for the girl. It is divided, together with other presents, among the M 586 relatives of the bride, who, for their part, also give presents and return a part of the bride price. Divorce is rife, and divorce can be instituted by both the man and the woman. A peculiar institution is the mapoewé awo, "to divide a bamboo into two equal parts," which refers to the [97] distribution of the children between the parents with the understanding that, in the case of divorce and provided the bride price has been paid, the first child, then the third, and so on, go to the M 562 mother, the others to the father. As is always the case with eleutherogamy, the position of women is not lower than that of the men; rule by women is common in southern Celebes.

B 621 631 d. Bali. Among the Balinese the interests of the individual are primarily concentrated in territorial jurisdictional communities, the Balinese dèsa; in former times they were combined into even larger territorial units, not always to their advantage or satisfaction, for example, the former Balinese principalities which were subdivided into districts.

B 592 594 It is noteworthy that neither the family nor the household [gezin, or nuclear family] is a jurisdictional community, in view of the fact that the Balinese have a strong family sense, B [769 778] which expresses itself, for instance, in a veneration for the place from which the family traces its origin. A special temple is erected and pilgrimages are made there for giving offerings. B 631 Only the dèsa, however, the territorial region, is a jurisdictional community, and, besides that, the soebak, the Balinese polder.

B 621 Although one can thus say that the dèsa communities represent the pivot around which the interests of the individual revolve, this must be qualified to apply to the particular situation on Bali.

B [771 774] The whole life of the Balinese is very strongly influenced by his religion, an animism that has been greatly modified by

[97 cont.]
771 the intensive effect of Hinduism. The whole organization of
174 the village, as well as the work on the land, is closely bound
621 up with this religion; there are special dèsa temples, religious festivals for purifying the dèsa, special temples for the soebak, etc.

621 There are two types of dèsa on Bali, especially in Buleleng, the old-fashioned and the modern dèsa. The former is distinguished by the great significance that the dèsa association (sekaha dèsa) still has; it consists primarily of the descendants of those who founded the dèsa, that is, the so-called core villagers. Certain advantages are enjoyed by [98] the members of these dèsa associations in the old-fashioned villages, usually in the form of agricultural land. The number of members is [564] limited, and there is absolute equality among them; even differences of caste do not play a part here. [Illustration appears here.] A council of elders guides the collective settlement of matters.

When a member dies, his son or some other blood relative is taken into membership [99] in his place. When there is no male relative to succeed him, a new member can be taken in. Such a new member has to serve a kind of apprenticeship, during which he is not looked upon as a full member of the association, and at meetings he has to serve the other members. The external characteristic of the old-fashioned dèsa is the possession [623] of a balé-agoeng, a long shed in the forecourt of the village temple, where the dèsa meetings are held. In these meetings each member has the same rights as the others and possesses [624] one vote. For the orderly conduct of business matters, however, there are some leaders, the eldest members of the association. In some dèsa this executive committee is composed exclusively of a certain number of these elders who are accorded various official titles. When one of these executive members dies, a successor is moved up to take his place.

793 The pasèk, whose function has a religious character, is
554 on an equal footing with these executive members, and above
[776] them in some dèsa. He answers to the godhead, the dèwa, when the latter is reincarnated in the temple.

[Text continues on p. 113]

[99 cont.]

624 In more recent times a new functionary has been created in the old-fashioned villages, the penjarikan-dèsa, or village clerk, who is responsible to the pasèk and the council of elders.

623 554 The village councilor receives little material reward as the fruit of his office; actually each has a right to a double portion in the distribution of the temple offerings. They are, however, always accorded other distinctions: sometimes a portion of the great bench in the meeting room is reserved for them and separated by a groove from that of the other members.

621 565 In these old-fashioned dèsa, the exclusive society represented by the descendants of the first founders of the village is clearly seen. They do not permit later arrivals to have claims on the land or to have a voice in the administration of the village. Today, however, especially in the mountain areas, the old-fashioned villages are somewhat more kindly disposed toward outsiders; after some years they are admitted as special members of the dèsa association.

The new villages have a quite different character, and this exclusive spirit does not prevail. The aim of the dèsa [100] [623] association here was to look after community interests, provide for safety, and to fulfill the duties to the gods and the sovereign. From this sprang the general rule that every male inhabitant becomes a member of the dèsa as soon as he marries; special advantages concerning the possession of land are not attached to this membership.

The administration of the new type of dèsa is completely different from that of the old-fashioned ones. The council of elders no longer exists; the leadership of the meeting and the [622 793] office of executive is delegated to one man, the klian, who is one of the members of the association chosen according to the instructions of the godhead through the mouth of the person he inspires in the temple. It sometimes happens that the villagers are not immediately satisfied with the choice and press for a consultation of the godhead.

793 A pasèk is no longer appointed in this kind of village. In his place is the pamangkoe, the keeper of the temple, who

[100 cont.]

793 at the same time is charged with offering the sacrifices in the temple. The klian, too, is a kind of spiritual leader; he is in charge of the care of the temple and is the leader in religious ceremonies.

624 Scattered villages are divided into bandjar, or parishes; in each there is a special local functionary, the klian bandjar or klian tinggi.

For administration and financial management there is a penjarikan-dèsa, the secretary-treasurer of the village; sometimes the klian has this office, but sometimes it is delegated to someone else, or, in the chief villages, to the pambekel gedé.

In most of these villages there is also a klian tempèk or klian troena, who calls upon the troena, or young members, to carry out the tasks they have to do.

Finally, in nearly every large dèsa there is also a sedahan temboekoe, "water bailiff," who is in charge of the principal aqueducts and who collects the taxes.

623 In some villages of this type there is a kind of village council composed of prominent soedra who act as counsellors and arbitrators to the klian and the penjarikan.

621 [101] Duties of the Inhabitants. With some exceptions, all adult, male inhabitants are obliged to carry out certain duties in the service of the village, such as keeping the roads in order, manning the watch posts, and taking part in offering sacrifices in the temple. Each in turn acts as messenger for the klian.

883 533 535 The youths (troena), in addition, are obliged to do special services, such as playing the gamelang in the temple [illustration appears here], performing dances, etc. The young girls, too, have similar duties, such as performing round dances. Later on they become members of the temple choir, accompanied by the gamelang.

461 564 Those exempt from dèsa service are, among others, the members of the highest caste, some also of the second and third caste, and the perbali (a class between the third caste and the soedra in rank, the propertied middle class) and young married people during the first year of marriage.

[101 cont.]

000 people during the first year of marriage.

621 651 [102] The villagers also have financial duties; they must pay for the dèsa festivals and ceremonies through the patoeroenan, a tax payable in money. To provide the dèsa treasury with money,

[142 291]

Balinese Family Group
Photo. Kolonial Instituut, Amsterdam. Coll. Aug. de Wit.

[541 525] cock-fighting also is organized, and a portion of the betting money exacted.

623 [805] Village Meetings. These usually take place once a month (the Balinese month has 35 days), in the village temple at full moon and in the temple of the dead at new moon, or, in the old-fashioned dèsa, in the balé-agoeng erected in the forecourt of the [624] village temple. The evening before the meeting the messengers of the klian summon the villagers on the signal block.

[382 cont.]

643 from the Satriya [Kshatriya] caste. All the sovereigns on Bali,
564 however, are from the Wesja [Vaisya] class, with the exception of the ruler of Kloengkoeng. The sovereign of that state is supposed to be a pure Satriya. He bears the title of Dewa agung. The rulers of the other states bear the title of Anak agung. The sovereign of Kloengkoeng exercises a kind of supremacy over the others, not only because of his high birth, but also on the strength of his ancestors' conquests over the other states. This
[641] supremacy is very slight, however. Although the princes swear an oath of loyalty and allegiance to him, consult him on important occasions, and call him in as arbiter of their differences, they obey him only insofar as it suits their interests.

Otherwise, the authority of the sovereigns on Bali is fairly
643 autocratic. Indeed, although the sovereign has a council of
645 priests and notables, members of the royal family, who, depend-
642 ing on their [383] caste, bear the title of dewa or gusti, they are entirely dependent on his will. Next to the sovereign stands the mantja magara, or state administrator, in whom the actual government is vested. The sovereign has still other officials who fulfill various functions.

634 A state is divided into a number of districts. At the head of the districts stand governors, the punggawa or pambekel gĕdé. They are chosen by the people, but under the approval of
622 the sovereign, who often influences the choice. The villages
621 are governed by village chiefs, who bear the name of klijan dèsa.
624 They are chosen by the people, and this choice is approved by the punggawa and the sovereign. There are often lesser chiefs in a village, section chiefs, klijan bandjar.

642 As I have just noted, the sovereign has an autocratic authority. The subjects are outrageously oppressed and regarded as slaves by their sovereigns, who are faithfully imitated in this
651 by the lesser chiefs. The sovereigns have many sources of dif-
[681] ferent kinds of income. They formerly consisted of the fines that were imposed as punishment; the sale of wrongdoers
[428] sentenced to slavery; the estates of those who died without

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OBl Indonesia
Ambon OH4
Bali OF7
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except for the surviving nuclear families, or lineages, which maintain possession of groves of trees. These have in some instances been converted into arbitrarily formed land-owning units by reason of European or "negory" authority.

MK 621 178

9. *The gaukang.*—In South Celebes there is an interesting institution known as the "gaukang" (also as kalompoan and arajang). This is the representation and symbolization of the vital spirit or soul of a regional community in a particular object of supernatural qualities.[22] The original fetish could be a stone, a gnarled branch, a flag, lance, plow or some other object. Later on, other elaborate accessories were sometimes added to the original one, and in some instances these secondary fetishes became substituted in the place of the original.

In breaking off from a parent, new communities became independent in their own right, even though they had no fetishes of their own. They did, however, remain second-rate in general status. Even in the Mandar states, where patrilineal sub-clans are described as being groups of importance, the communities are territorial, as elsewhere. The governor is the guardian of the fetish. There is great variety in the names and functions of the assistants and subchiefs. Originally each fetishistic community had its own council (hadat), and although war and the principalities, alliances and Dutch administration have had a great deal of influence on South Celebes social organization, underneath it all the regional community is the cell and primal form of social structure.

Bl ● 621 602

10. *The Balinese desa.*—The "desa," as the villages of Bali are called, is a community based purely on geographical contiguity. It is true that a kinship relation does bind the little-known religious societies of Bali together, but the members of these cults are scattered throughout a number of villages, and their function is limited to the joint worship of a deified progenitor and the maintenance of a temple for him. The reckonig of the relationship is patrilineal, except for some "old style" desa.[23]

Bl 621 794

The "desa" is a community which depends in the first place upon a common duty and will to keep the village grounds clean for the gods, and to carry on the sacrifices and other religious ceremonies called for by custom. There is considerable variation between the

[22] [The Dutch call this social complex "het ornamentschap." This would have to be translated "ornamentship." In English, a more effective equivalent would be "community fetishism."]

[23] [The distinction between "old" and "new" style desa is described by van Vollenhoven, *Adatrecht*, vol. I, pp. 464ff.]

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia
Javanese OE5 Bali OF7
Lombok OF12

"old style" and "new style" desa. In the old-style desa a special group of married citizens is obliged and privileged to carry out the functions of worship. The membership of such groups numbers twenty or multiples of twenty. The members are holders of certain particular agricultural lands. At least, they must be landed proprietors and married. Succession to the group is based on a variety of principles. The oldest villagers have special administrative functions and a place to fulfil in the worship of the gods. Even the peacemakers in village disputes are in essence religious administrators, for they protect the village territory from defilement brought on by quarrels.

The social strata make up the Balinese village. The nuclear group of first-settlers holds the first rank. A larger group of subordinate middle-class people shares, to some extent, in the land and has limited responsibilities. Lodgers and immigrants form the third class, known as "sampingan."

In the villages situated outside of the former principalities, there are various societies, which are subordinate to the village authority. Such are the "banjar," the district society, the young men's and young women's societies, the music and drama society, and so forth. In the appanage territory these freely-formed societies exist as autonomous communities outside of village authority.

Citizenship in the new-style villages is less complex. Every adult, married male, who has a residential compound and has lived in the village for a year, is admitted to the village society. He is, in fact, obliged to join up. Administration by a village headman (kilan), sometimes assisted by some henchmen, replaces the gerontocracy of the old-style system.

Alongside of the two basic types of Balinese communities are the important irrigation associations (subak), a union of sawah[24] owners under a headman, but organized in various ways, and variously aligned with the villages.

In Lombok, the desa is a territorially-based community made up of unrelated families. It possesses an area of disposal and is governed by a "kepala desa."

11. *The Javanese desa.*—The Javanese desa is another type of community, whose base is purely territorial. Its constituency is formed of unrelated individuals and families. And in addition to the nuclear desa citizenry, there are alien, non-native residents, mainly

[24] [Cultivated fields held under a community right of disposal. See the next chapter.]

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
● Bali OF7

E. THE INFLUENCE OF PRINCES AND THE DUTCH ADMINISTRATION ON COMMUNAL LIFE

There is a certain inevitable tension between the legal life of the native communities and the administrative organization of the princes and the government. Where they have not been crushed to death, the communities remain independent as spheres of legal autonomy. But the fact that they, the princes and the government are concerned with the same legal objects results in tension.

The destructive influences of the central princely state emenate most directly from the residence of the prince and act most intensely upon the communities in the immediate environs of the royal city. These influences may be summarized as: (1) replacement of local headmen by royal officials; (2) the absorption of land into the royal holdings; (3) the granting of appenages.[26] Such influences were at work in the sultanate of Atjeh, of Palembang, the sultanate of Jambi, the sultanates of East Coast Sumatra, the powerful principalities in South Celebes (Bone, Gowa, etc.), of Ternate and Tidore, Bali and Lombok, and among the Nagaragung in Java. However, the local community was not always wholly destroyed by these influences. The Balinese desa kept its autonomy in the midst of appenage territory. And yet—such villages were never the same as those outside the princely area, for, as the Balinese say, "the prince penetrated within the desa." More recently, with the reorganization of the princely domain under Dutch authority, some of the folk communities have been restored.

However, a second effect of the power of alien princes has been to crystallize and strengthen the internal organization of the outlying communities. The authority of the community headmen has been increased in consequence. This is the case with the communities of Bantam as against the "marga" and "bandaria" of the Lampongs; of Palembang as against the "sikep marga"; possibly of Ternate as against the "negory" of Ambon and the localized clans on their own lands in the Sula Islands; Karangasem and the other small states of Bali as against the desas lying outside of the appenage territories; and Java as contrasted to the desa of the vassal states. In order to meet the levies and royal demands for services upon communities, the communities had to become stronger inter-

[26] The bestowal of the right to officials or certain families to appropriate levies owing to the princes from some families or segments of communities without regard to established boundaries.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB
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Bali OF7 Gorontalo O64
Java OE1

starting point you may imagine a piece of territory in the possession of a community. Within this regional community a number of local groups are established and settled in a number of residential areas; each group is on an equal footing with the rest. Members of each village reclaim parts of the common regional domain; fields are used and then abandoned. Subsequently, they become overgrown as the gardeners move on to other clearings. If so long a time has elapsed that even the preferential right of the ones who did the job of reclamation are dead and the lands have remained a parcel within the regional community area of disposal, the regional community continues in competence (power) to adjudicate disputes between members and their local chiefs and to control the admission of outsiders, *etc.*, with respect to these lands. At no time are the members of the regional community dealt with as though *they* were outsiders to any village in the group.

Lands that lie interstitially between the specific areas of disposal of the several villages are under the sole control of the regional community.

Extended family rights to disposal of waste lands held by the "suku" or "kampuang" within a "nagari" in Minangkabau, or rights held by the "dati" within the Ambonese "negory" are subject to similar principles.

6. *Delimitation of the area of disposal.*—Throughout all law-areas the areas of disposal are sharply bounded by the staked claims of other communities. Vague boundaries, on the other hand, may exist where there are wide areas of uninhabited land.

7. *Means of protection of communal areas of disposal.*—As long as there is no superior power above the communities, territorial sovereignty depends upon defensive strength or upon mutual agreement. In order to meet the special problems that arise because of this, many Indonesian communities have developed special officers, whose function it is to protect the boundaries. Such men are the "jaring" in Minangkabau, the "teterusan" in Minahasa, the "kepala kéwang" in Ambon, the "lelipi slem bukit" of the Tnganan in Bali and, apparently, also the "reksabumi" in Java.

Not only is protection of the boundaries possible by means of local frontier guards and patrols, with occasional petty wars, but if a village union or a prince or central government is established over the villages additional protection may be gleaned from letters of recognition by the prince, and decisions of federative (native), royal and colonial judges and governmental administrators. This

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
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Sumba OF17 ● Bali OF7

benefit has given direct impetus to the rise of native principalities in Bali and Indragiri.

8. *Legislative ignoring of the right of disposal.*—Failure to recognize the right of disposal in Dutch legislation has resulted in considerable unnecessary contradictions.

9. *Terminology.*—It rarely seems to have occured to Indonesians to coin a term for the right of disposal; at any rate, few languages in Indonesia have a specific word for the concept. But the area of disposal as such is always identified by some definite term. This term may give expression to the area of disposal as a possession (patuanan, in Ambon), as a food-producing area (panyampeto, in Borneo), as a demarked territory (pawatasan in Borneo, wewengkon in Java, and prabumian in Bali), or as land forbidden to outsiders (totabuan in Bolaang Mongondow). Various other terms are also known to exist, as for instance, "torluk" in Angkola, "limpo" in South Celebes, "nuru" in Buru, "payar" in Bali, "paér" in Lombok, and "ulayat" in Minangkabau.

10. *The supervisor of lands.*—The title "groondvoogd," or supervisor of lands, is given a double meaning in the literature. It is used in the first place to indicate the community soothsayer, who is especially versed in the techniques of making the supernaturals act in accord with human desires in the use of land. In the other sense, it is used to apply to the particular official who, in addition to the general chiefs and authorities, is the specialist in wielding the powers of disposal vested in the community. In correct technical usage, according to adat law, the word should have only the second meaning.

The separation of general authority and control of the operation of the right of disposal is apt to take place when an outside power penetrates the community or is foisted upon it. In such a situation it is possible to conceive of the three functions—soothsayer, land supervisor, and general headman—as existing side by side. But almost always the functions of soothsayer and supervisor are merged. The same is true of the functions of supervisor and chief, if no alien authority enters the picture. In his relation to native law the land supervisor is the actual symbol of the unbreakable link between the group and its soil. Even though the general political authority may be entrusted to a superior alien power, or captured by it, that bond of folk and soil persists. And it is just because the land supervisor is, so to speak, the personification of the spiritual relation of the people to their land that he is also usually the cere-

when the testator has no children; his "barang asal" then goes back to his own extended family—lest it "get away"—while the household goods are taken by the surviving spouse. It has already been said that in some law-areas a strong family bond can also influence the inheritance of goods, which were acquired by the household (p. 190). Among the Toba-Bataks, lands which have been given as dowry to the daughter remain at the death of the woman with the husband and his family, it is true, but in such a way that for generations, the in-laws (boru) may not use it without consulting the wife's family (hula hula) and giving them a right of preference.

2. *Property of special value.*—The sacred objects in a family can be tied up with the status of the possessor; for example, the "kraton" goods of the "kasepuhan" in Cheribon go to whoever inherits the dignity of Sultan Sepuh. In the same way, a name can only be bequeathed to a qualified heir. It can also be said that the heir of that family property becomes the legal administrator.

3. *Household goods.*—Differences in inheritance as a result of household ties may arise when a second marriage occurs. The children of the first marriage inherit the goods acquired during that marriage; the children of the second marriage receive none of them (Borneo). In Muna in South Celebes it is said in this connection, that the property of the one house may not be taken over by the other; in other places in this law-area, there is an adat law maxim to the same effect. In Java, the practice of settlement is ordinarily used to overcome the difficulties of multiple marriage in similar cases. For instance, in case the children by a first marriage are already married and thus form no part of the household of the second marriage, at the death of their father, they do not inherit the goods acquired during the second marriage, at least not if they have already had their share of the household goods of the first marriage. However, they hold a claim to the "asal" goods of their father. If two wives of the same husband form separate households with their children, then the goods of the two households remain separate (p. 177). The more involved the relationships are in a particular case, the more the most acceptable solution has to be found for an arrangement; such solutions, however, are satisfactory only if based on accepted tradition rules.

4. *Communal property.*—The community's right of disposal sometimes prevents succession to agricultural lands by its internal action because at the death of a first class villager his landholdings

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Java OE1
Bali OF7

(at least his regular holdings attached to the nuclear village) revert to the community by reason of the right of disposal, and are granted to a village member of lower rank, who is next in turn. If such land is in general given to an heir of the deceased, then there is an inheritance claim to succession to first class villager property. This rule runs counter to the operation of the right of disposal within the community whereby individual rights to fields are allowed only to a specified extent. That is to say (in some Javanese and some Balinese desas), the unit of private lands of the testator may not be added to a unit of ground-holding which is already in the possession of the heir, or on the other hand, it is equally impossible to split the plot of the testator in smaller units among the heirs. Prohibition of accumulation and of splitting up of the standard unit permitted by force of the right of disposal is thus the norm within which the internal operation of right of disposal finds expression. Numerous vague relationships can be created in this way as a result of the apparent support, for one reason or another, of the rule mentioned, while privately permitting all sorts of evasions of it. For example, the heir, who already has a first-class villager's field allows it to be entered in the name of his wife or his oldest son, and himself receives the field of his deceased father; or two brothers permit their father's field to stand in the name of the oldest, but act during their whole lives as if each had a right to half of it; the village authorities cooperate by entering the field in the name of the oldest son "c.s." (cum suis). This Latin phrase has come into use in many desas, but in the form of "séès."

The effect of the right of disposal outside the community conflicts with the law of succession in that it often prevents the inheritance of a nuclear village field by an heir not living in the village. Here also are transitional conditions: putting up a proxy for desa services, entering the land in the name of a member of the extended family, etc. In case of dispute, the decision must bring out the true facts of such a half-way condition.

5. *Designated property.*—The effect of the actual declaration of the parts of the property in the division of the estate does not take the form of a prohibition or a command, but of a preferred choice of method of division. It is unfortunate that the mechanical procedure in case of the unwillingness of one or more heirs to accept the expressed desires of the testator prevents the government judge from carrying out the provisions in that the whole estate is then sold